

THE
RISE & FALL
OF THE

Late Eminent and powerful Favo-
rite of SPAIN,
The Count OLIVARES.

THE
Unparallel'd Imposture
OF
MICHAEL de MOLINA

Executed at MADRID in the
Year, 1641.

The Right and Title of the
present King of *Portugall*
Don JOHN the fourth;

With the most memorable Passages
of his Reign unto the year 1644.

Translated out of the *Italian, Spanish,*
and Portughez,
By Edw: Chamberlayne, Gent'.

In tenui Labor ———

London, Printed by T: N: for Thomas Heath
at his shop in *Russell-street*, near the *Piazza's*
of *Covent-Garden*, 1652.



*The Right Hon.^{ble} Algernon Capell,
Earl of Essex, Viscount Malden, &
Baron Capell of Hadham. 1791*



To the Reader.



THE Originall Structures, from whence the materials of these pieces are taken, seeming more spacious then was necessary, I have taken the pains to pull them down, and rebuild them in the narrow room here presented; wherein my principall care hath been (*ut misceam utile dulci*) that no part of these new buildings may be without commodity or delight, although the beauty of them may be somewhat defaced (for translations are

To the Reader.

ever prejudiciall to the grace and splendor of the Original, especially when done by an unskilfull pen) yet I choose rather to be censured of weakness in exposing to the publick, then of envy in engrossing to my selfe a Commodity that might any way benefit my Countrey-men.

Amongst the many curious Pieces that came to my hands in foreign parts, I have made choyce of these in the first place (wanting opportunity for a more weighty task) because pieces of this nature have this peculiar unto them, that they are acceptable to most intelligent persons, for that they represent succinctly many curious particularities, whereof generall

Histo-

To the Reader.

Histories cannot take any notice.

The first of these Relations was written at *Madrid* in *Italian* by an Agent there to one of the Princes of *Italy*, at the time that the *Conde Duke de Olivarez* was banisht the Court of *Spain*. I have pruned off some superfluous branches, and ingrafted a few necessary Cions borrowed from other trees.

The second was written at large in *Spanish* by the *Alcalde*, or Judge to whom was committed the prosecution of that whole business. The Book was swoln with various digressions and infinite quotations (as their manner is) which would have been very impertinent to an English Reader.

The former part of the third
Dis-

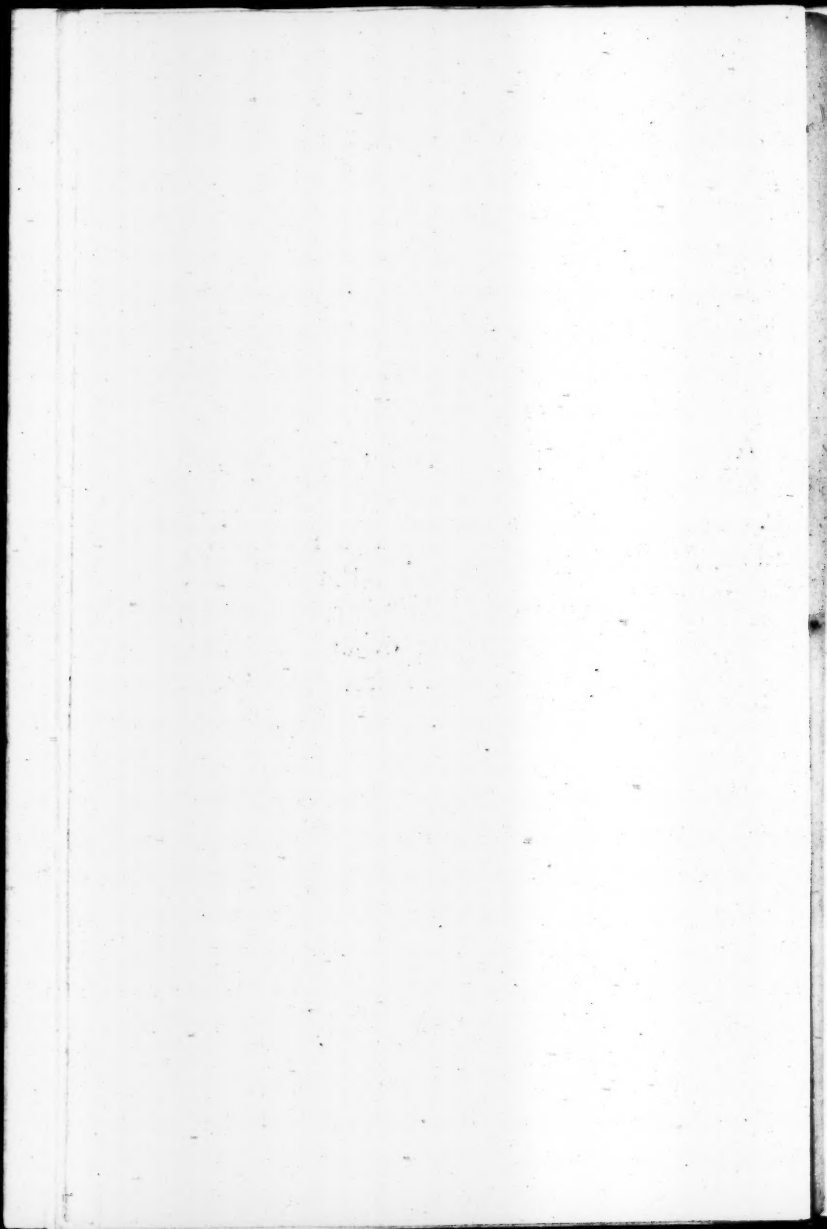
To the Reader.

Discourse was written in the *Portugal* Tongue, and the later part in *Italian*; the one amplified with the numberless authoritics of Civilians, and the other with many prolix excursions, which in English would have been as tedious as improper.

If the Reader reaping in few houres the fruits of many dayes labour, shall receive content, I shall not onely be fatisfied for this pains, but encouraged for another undertaking.

Faults to be corrected.

PAge 10. line 8. for *Aunt* read *Confin*. p. 14.
l. 2. leave out *would*. P. 47. l. 8. for *in* read
ni. P. 51. l. 26. read *fuerça*. P. 52. l. 17. for *having*
read *he*. P. 57. l. 24. r, *debaunched*. P. 102. l. 19.
for *mis* read *mas*. P. 104. 24. for *in r. ni*. There
are many false pointings and other inconfide-
rable mistakes, whereof the Printer humbly de-
mands pardon.



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THE
RISE & FALL
OF THE

Late eminent and Power-
full Favourite of SPAIN,
Don *Faspar de Guzman* Conde,
Duke of *Olivares* and
S^t LUCAR.

DON *Faspar de Guzman*, son
of Don *Henry* Count de
Olivares, was born in *Rome*
at the time that his Father
was there Ambassador from
Philip the second; and it was
noted as an unlucky presage that he drew
his first breath in the Palace of *Nero*;
B which

which gave occasion to some Wits to style him the *Nero disguised*; because his actions were always very cruell, yet without shedding blood; his deliberations violent, but without noise; his carriage courteous, but without love: his words very fair, but without effect.

Being the third Son of his Family, he betook himself to the study of the Law at *Salamanca*, where he was Corrivall with three Learned persons for a Prebendary at *Sevill*, which he obtained. Not long after coming to Court at the time when *Don Balthazar Zuniga* was in favor with *Philip* the 3^d upon the fall of the house of *Lerma*, he easily crept into the favor and familiarity of *Philip* the fourth; then *Prince*; and complying in all things with his humor, became absolute master of his Will, by that time the death of his Father had made him absolute Monarch of *Spain*.

To assure himself in this height of Honor and Power, he held at a distance from his Majesty the Princes of the blood; particularly Prince *Philibert de Savoy*, and
its

it is believed, that jealous of the vivacity and Noblenesse of spirit which began to shine in the *Infante Don Carlos* (who was idolized by the Spaniards) he hastned his death As for the Cardinall *Infante Don Ferdinando*, he speciously pretended that it was necessary he should be employed in the Wars of *Germany*, and afterwards in the Government of *Flanders*. Sent most of the * *Grandeess* and persons, whose parts or power gave any occasion of jealousy to the *Conde Duke*, to Employments farre from the Court; thereby so powerfully suppressing the worth of all other, that none being left to oppose him, he became the sole Arbitrator of the Monarchy, and absolute Master of his Masters will.

* A *Grandeess* of Spain, is any Nobleman that hath the priviledg to be alwayes covered in the Kings presence, as all Noblemen had before the time of *Charls* the fifth.

As for the *Queen*, whom the the Laws of God and Man forbad to bee separated from her Husband; she was kept in such awe and subiection by the Dutcheß of *Olivarez*, her first Lady of

Honor, that though she had the Title and outside of a Queen, she was little better than a slave to the Duke; who would often intimate to the King, that no other account was to be made of a Woman, but as a thing necessary to propagate the *species*.

Now although some rigour should be used in the examination of all the actions of the *Conde Duke*, it will not be denyed but that he had most rare endowments for a Minister of State; for the zeal and passion he had for to Aggrandize his Master and his Dominions, knew no bounds; He gave himself wholly to the transaction of publique Affairs; insomuch that he would not allow himself one hour of Recreation; He was the declared enemy of all Presents, not suffering any of his servants to sell his Favor, or their Credit with him: But on the contrary spent of his own Revenues for the service of the King, professing that all he had was devoted to the publique good, and that hee did nothing but to augment the grandeur of the King, and to serve the State. Yet some that would seem

seem to see farther then vulgar eyes, say,
 That the reason why hee received no presents, was, because hee conceived that to be the only way to continue in favor; and that by other ways being as covetous as cruell, hee found out the true secret of heaping up treasure, without appearing ambitious. To this end he got into his hands *Commanderies* of all the three Orders of Knighthood, which were worth to him 40000 Crowns *per an*; made himself great Master of the Kings Wardrobe; Master of the Horse; & Great Chancellor of the *Indies*, which three Offices were worth him 200000 Crownes *per annum*; but much more considerable were the vast sums received from the *Indies*, for when the Fleet set sail from *Sevill* and *Lisbon*, he caused to be shipt abundance of Corn, Wine, and Oyle Custome-free, which he sent from his County of *Olivarez*; and selling the same in the *Indies* at four times their worth in *Spain*, caused the Moneys to be employed in Spices, Jewels, Indigoes, &c. which are there at a low price, but of great value in Europe; so that

without coufening the King hee hath this way gained many Millions which Wife men perswade themselves were never spent in the Kings service.

As for his zeal to augment his Masters greatness; some are of opinion, That the excess of so eminent a Vertue was in him a Vice which produced great Mischiefs; for he was so passionate in the pursuance of that designe, that he feared not to discontent the People, the Nobility, the Princes, the Queen her self, so hee might content the King, and carry on his design.

First, for the People, whose Love is the main foundation and strongest prop of Monarchies: This blind passion carried him away so far, as to endeavor to abolish in Spain divers priviledges and Liberties, to the end hee might render the King more absolute over his Subjects: Hee extorted from the Laity and Clergy, by the *Mediannates*, an invention of his own, which was the Payment of half an years Revenues of all Offices and Benefices that were bestowed; also by abasing and raising

sing the value of Coyne, an intollerable grievance to the Subject; and by many other Impositions, raised above Two hundred and sixteen Millions of Gold.

Such like endeavours were the first ground of the totall revolt of the *Catalonians*, who together with the people of *Aragon*, had so great Priviledges and Liberties, that they passed rather for a people recommended then subject to the Kings of Spain; whence it hath ever been *Arcanum Imperii* amongst the Kings of Spain to endeavor to infringe those Priviledges that rendred suspicious the Loyalty of those people: Insomuch, that in all the Wars with France, the Kings of Spain durst not suffer their Armies to march that way. Those of *Aragon*, in that notable business of *Don Antonio Perez*, were by *Philip* the second, not without much craft and force, brought into absolute subjection: but the *Catalonians* continued stedfast in the maintenance of their Priviledges, and very difficult to be reduced to such subjection; because being borderers upon France by sea and land,

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they

they could commodiously receive thence assistance or succour. Nevertheless the said zeal of the *Conde Duke* put him upon that attempt, so that at a Parliament holden at *Barcellona*, the chief Citie of *Catalonia*, the jealous *Catalonians* took no small distaste that the *Duke* endeavoured to invade their Privileges, by not suffering their Commissioners to be covered in his presence, which had used to be covered in the Kings presence. After this the *Duke* proceeding in the like attempts to diminish their Priviledges, & yet to keep them in obedience, quartered Souldiers upon them after the fashion of *Lombardy*; but the *Catalonians* not being able to endure the insolence of the soldiers, took Arms, killed & drave away their soldiers, killed also their Vice-Roy, the *Conde di Coloma*, & put themselves under the protection of the *French*. Thus was lost the most populous part of all *Spain*, a Countrey above 800 miles in compass, and the onely Countrey of all *Spain* wherein is to be found all materials necessary for making and rigging ships: The Castles, Mannors, Villages, great Towns, and Cities stand so thick, that they seem rather one

continued Citie then a Province.

To this may be added the inexpressible losse of the Kingdome of *Portugall*, with all the dependencies upon that Crown in the East and West *Indies*, *Africa*, and *Ter-cera* Islands, by the miscarriage of the *Conde* Duke in discontenting that Nation, which shall be related at large as a most remarkable History. There have ever been a certain Antipathy & enmity betwixt the *Spaniards* and *Portugals*, as great as between the *Spaniard* and *French*. But since they have been subject to the Kings of *Spain*, have been so averse from the Government that the Parish Priests and Preachers at the end of their Mass and Sermons, were wont to exhort the people publickly to say two *Ave Maries*, to the end that it would please our Saviour and the blessed Virgin to deliver them from the Tyranny (as they termed it) of the *Castillians*, expecting always some favourable occasion to make an universall Revolt.

Notwithstanding, in the year, 1636. the new Tax called the Fifth part, was generally imposed, that is Five *per Cent.* upon

upon all Estates and Merchandise ; which being judged not only very grievous, but also most unjust, gave occasion to all the Southern part of *Portugall* to rise in arms, and had no question set the whole Kingdom on fire, had it not been quencht by the great care of the *Infanta Margarita of Savoy*, the Kings Aunt, then Governesse.

The Court of Spain observing here-upon the inclinations of that people to an universall revolt, resolved to use the best means to secure it : In the first place, to allure forth the great Duke of *Briganza*, who for Riches, power, number of Tenants, affection of the people, and kindred, was the chief Nobleman not onely of *Portugall*, but of all *Spain*, and (which was more then all had an undoubted right to the Crown of *Portugall*, and therefore certainly it was a cruell pity in *Philip* the second, to seiz upon this Kingdom, and yet to leave the pretender to the Crown, not onely alive, but greater and higher then ever he was : It being an infallible Maxime, That *nothing can bee sufficient to secure his Loyalty, who hath*
power

power enough to justify disloyalty To make sure of the Duke, they first offered him the Government of *Milan*, which he modestly refused, resolving not to stirre forth of *Portugall*. Hereupon the Conde Duke was resolved to try all ways imaginable; to which the Rebellion of *Catalonia* seemed to offer a fit opportunity for this design; for the Conde Duke politickly gave out that the King was to goe in person against the *Catalonians*; and therefore that all the Nobility in the Kings dominions were to appear within 4 Months at *Madrid*, to wait upon the King in this Expedition. But the Duke of *Braganza* wel knowing the affection of the *Portugals* and suspicion of the *Castillians*; to the end that hee might take off the one, and assure the other, retires himself to his Countrey house, there to follow his hunting; excusing himself to the Conde Duke, that his affairs at present were in so bad a condition, that hee could not appeare abroad with that splendor and dignity that became a person of his Quality; and that he was confident he could doe his Majesty

jesty better service by staying at home when all the rest of the Nobility were gone forth. This answer much augmented the former suspitions of the *Conde Duke*: wherefore he resolved to make use of the most exquisite dissimulation that ever he had done in all his life; and because it was a most ticklish affair, an extraordinary caution and subtilty was necessary: First then, the *Conde Duke* by Letters assures the Duke of *Braganza* he was well satisfied with his reasons, and of his good inclination to his Majesties service. Secondly, to make a shew of true amity, seemed to be very compassionate of what regarded the Dukes Interest. Thirdly, he assured him that the King was very well content that he should continue there, & to rellisie unto him the confidence and trust was reposed in him, made him General of all the *Militia* of *Portugall*, leaving it to his choice to reside in what place he pleased neer *Lisbon*; and to supply his present necessity, sent him 60000 Crowns.

This *Intrigue* of the *Conde Dukes* appeared to those that saw onely the outside

side of the business, so strange and so prejudicial to the Kings interest, that they cryed out, This was the very way to lose all, the rather because by calling back the Duke from his retired life at his Countrey House, he was now exposed to the view of the *Lisbonians*, in whose thoughts the House of *Braganza* hath ever been represented as right heir to that Crown, that his presence must needs augment the hopes of the *Portugals*, and new kindle their desires to have a King of their own.

Lastly, That the *Militia* of *Portugall* was put into those very hands that aspired to the Scepter: but this kind of dealing was the *Conde* Dukes ordinary course, who was oft heard to brag, that he gained much more by such counterfeit *Caresses*, then with downright threats. It was never *Olivarez* intention to trust the Duke, but to carry the business so, that the Duke might trust him. And indeed what greater testimony of confidence could have been imagined, then to send the Duke neer *Lisbon*, give him the command of all the Forces, and supply him with moneys.

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All these crafts and subtilties no doubt would had bin enough to have charmed the Dukes spirit, and to have made him to confide in *Olivarez*, but that the particular acquaintance hee had with his dealings, had instructed him to stand upon his guard. In the mean time the *Infanta Margarita* upon whose shoulders all the good and bad events of *Portugall* was like to fall, amazed at these manifest opportunities of Revolt were offered to the Duke, advertised the King thereof by divers Letters, whereunto she received cold answers full of Riddles and darkness; the obscurity whereof a little after seemed much greater; For, without giving her any notice, all the Spaniards that kept Garison in Saint *Johns Castle*, which commanded *Lisbon*, were drawn forth, at a time when the safety and security of the whole Kingdom depended upon that Castles strength, and that strength upon the fidelity of those *Spanish* souldiers; but it was a stratageme wherein consisted the last attempt of *Olivarez* to secure the Duke; and that his cunning might not be discovered, but lie
hid

hid for a time, staid till Summer, 1640. before he would invite afresh the Duke to come to Court, which he did at length by a large Letter; wherein after ample testimonies of affection, he much commended the Loyalty of the Duke, his vigilance and diligence in his Office of *Generall*, and the happy effects of his authority over the *Portugals*; then represented unto him the sad condition of the Monarchy, by reason of the disorders of *Flanders*, disasters of *Italy*, and the great preparations of the *Turk*; but chiefly because of the most powerfull Enemies the *French*, already entred into *Spain* by the assistance of the *Catalonians*: that the onely way to save the Kingdome, was to chase away these last, but that this could not be well effected but by a vigorous assistance of all the *Grandees* of *Spain*, of which he was the chief; He might by his presence, and with a good number of his Tenants, give example to others; and that to this end his Majesty expected him every moment, with design to Honour him, and conferr upon him priviledges and dignities of
high

high concernment. Now although the Duke was reputed a man not very well versed in the world, yet he carried himself with so much wisdom and discretion, that after he had supplied the King with a considerable number of his Tenants and Friends, he refused to goe in person; but using craft against craft, retired himself to his Countrey house, that so he might take off all suspicion of jealousy, that he plotted any thing against the State. The *Conde* Duke in all this used all fair means, because he saw there was no hope of prevailing otherwise, insomuch that by reciprocal dissimulation each of them laboured to give testimonie of singular affection and perfect confidence.

The *Infanta* vigilant upon all occasions, observing these proceedings, and foreseeing what would be the issue, wrote to the King and to *Olivarez* very urgent letters, protesting that if speedy remedy were not taken, the Kingdome must needs be lost; The King hereunto gave no answer, but *Olivarez* in his Letters useth her like a silly woman, fitter to govern a Family

ther

then a Kingdom, bidding her, that if she comprehended not the mysteries of State, at least she should not discover them. In the mean time *Olivarez* sent secret Instructions to *Don Lopez de Ossis*, and *Don Antonio de Oquendo*, after they had relieved *Flanders* with men and money, to put in with his whole Fleet upon the Coast of *Portugall*; and so soon as the Duke of *Braganza* should come aboard the ships, according to the duty of his place, and new office, they should set sail and bring him away to *Cales*; but that great Fleet was ruined by the *Hollander* upon the *Downs* in the year 1639. Hereupon it being thought necessary to weaken the *Portugals* by draining the Kingdom of superfluous humours, a great number of Souldiers were drawn forth, which inflamed more those ill humors, that had been much stirred by the divers discontents and distaste which generally was taken against *Vasconzellos* chief Secretary of State, who taking upon him the manage of all affairs, leaving to the *Infanta* onely the bare Title of *Vice-Queen*, governed absolutely ac-

cording to his own will and pleasure, being
 a man of unsufferable petulancy, and set
 as controller of his Mistress actions, and
 in *Madrid* the Principall affairs of *Portu-*
gall were menaged by *Don Diego Sua-*
rez, father in law to *Vasconzellos*: These,
 with some other miscarriages, were the
 true occasions of that generall revolt,
 which was contrived in few days, and exe-
 cuted in fewer hours. For as soon as some
 of the chiefe Nobility privatly met toge-
 ther, began the discourse of the many
 grievances, intollerable taxations, pride
 and arrogancy of the *Castillians* that were
 Officers of State, in particular of the ty-
 ranny of *Vasconzellos*, their Liberties vio-
 lated, their Clergy impoverished, their
 Nobility destined for the slaughter, their
 Countrey ruinated, and all their Privileges
 engraven upon a Marble pillar, exposed to
 the publick view, violated and infringed,
 &c. It was proposed at the same privat
 meeting to change it into a Common-
 wealth; But the Archbishop of *Lisbon*
 with powerful reasons made abortive that
 designe, and set their thoughts upon
 endeavour-

endeavouring to win the Duke of *Braganza* to accept of the Crown, the Dukes name was *John* son to *Theodosius*, son to *Katherine*, who was daughter to *Edward*, son to *Emanuel* King of *Portugall*: so it was agreed that one *Don Gaston Cotigno* should make this Overture to the Duke, who went immediatly to his Highness at His Country house, and there told him of the generall discontent of the people, of the generall consent of the Nobility and Clergy to receive Him as their King; and that the present conjuncture of affairs seemed to invite Him to embrace without delay so profitable and necessary a design; for that now the House of *Austria* was at a low ebb, distracted with Wars on every side, all the Forces of *Spain* employed against *Catalonia*; that they could not want assistance from *France*, and others that were jealous of the greatness of that House; that now was the time for him to recover that Right which hath been so long detained from his Ancestors; that Fortune seldome offers a man a Kingdom; that this opportunity being let slip, in vain

might He hereafter hope for the like, or for succor from the *Portugals*, when Hee shall be clapt in prison at *Madrid*; that if He would not take it upon Him, the whole Kingdom was resolved to change it into a *Republick*, and then He should not only be equalized with the rest of low Condition, but hated by all, and looked upon as one who refused to bee an instrument of His Countries Liberty, and so should bee the most unappy man amongst them.

After a long silence, the Duke told him He thanked him and the whole Nobility for their affections toward Him, but that this was a business of such weight, that it required a more mature deliberation; That he knew well, that this was an Affair of that kinde, that knew no *medium* betwixt the Crown and the Halter. The next night communicating the whole business to his Wife, who is sister to the Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, a Woman of a Manly courage, fit for such a bold Enterprize; and wavering with Himself whether Hee had better consent to the Nobility, or fly to *Madrid*, his Wife thus briefly spake to him;

him; My Friend, if thou goest to *Madrid*, thou runnest the hazard of losing thy Head; if thou acceptest the Crown, thou runnest the same hazard; If then thou must perish, better dye nobly at home, then basely abroad: At which words the Duke was so animated, that he came forth of his Closet, and bad one of his Confidants goe and acquaint the Nobility, that he was resolved to undertake the same Enterprize, and run the same hazard with them all; whereupon, immediatly, (for this business could not suffer delay) the Nobility about Midday dispersed themselves into severall places of the City, as they had agreed, some amongst the guard of *Swisses*; some towards the lodging of the *Infanta*; some to the *Castle*; others to the Spanish *Fleet* in the Haven; others to the Spanish *Corps de Gard* before the Kings Palace; and others to the Lodgings of *Vazconzellos*: And at the hour appointed, a Pistoll being shot off near the Palace, the next fell upon the *Swisse* guard; and others hearing the noise of them, fell on in their appointed stations, made themselves Ma-

sters of all in a moment, without killing but one *Swisse* who made resistance, besides *Vasconcellos*, who was killed in his chamber, and thrown down out of his window to be a publick spectacle to the people. Others presenting themselves before the *Vice-Queen*, she told them, That if this insurrection had no other aim but to revenge themselves upon *Vasconcellos*, she assured them upon returning to their obedience, to gain a generall pardon from the King. But she was answered, That as for their most unjust grievances they had now received satisfaction upon *Vasconcellos*, and had no other King but *Don John* the fourth. Hereupon the cry went all over *Lisbon*, *God save King John*; and from one of the clock till three all shops were shut; but then all were again set open with so great joy and content of the Citizens, that all rancor and malice set a-part, the most inveterate enemies embraced one another with tears of joy. The *Infanta* for more security they removed away from the Palace to the House where anciently the *Infanta's* of *Portugal* were wont

to dwell, leaving her some Souldiers to guard her. The Archbishop of *Lusbon* went in solemne procession through the Citie, and to encourage the people, and fix them the better in their resolutions in chusing a new King, made use of one of the nails wherewith Christ was nail'd to the Crosse, which he carried in his hand, thereby authorizing this insurrection with an act of Religion, to intimate to the people, that all was ordained by the speciall providence of heaven, and that in defending the cause of *Braganza*, they should defend the cause of God: To corroborate which conceit, they made use of certain old *Prophesies* and new *Prodigies*, that in the person of this *Duke* was verified a certain apparition of Christ to King *Alfonso* just as he was ready to give battell to the five Kings of the *Moors*, by which he was promised not onely victory, but that he and his generations should reign to the *sixteenth* Generation, at which his Race should be thought extinct, but should flourish again when it should be least of all thought upon: They made

their observations also upon the day, being the first of *December*, on which day the Citie was recovered out of the hands of the *Moors*, and seized upon by *Philip* the second, so that it was a day fatall to *Lisbon*. Amongst other prodigies that were given out to keep the common people the better in their loyalty to their new King, one was, that the next day in the chamber where *Vasconcellos* was killed, there were found so great a number of *Bats*, that none could enter into the room. Also, that the plot should be kept secret so long time, for it was plotted some weeks before it was executed, was reckond as a great wonder, that among so many persons of different degrees, kindred, age, rich and poor, the design should be kept undiscovered. Another as great a wonder was that *Lisbon*, a Citie so wonderfully populous, and the whole Kingdome should with one universall acclamation accept of the *Duke*; not one person gain-saying, That all the Forts and Castles garrison'd by *Spaniards*, should be delivered up without resistance, and that all the *Spaniards* also should be sent

sent away, and the quiet of the Kingdome
 secured without the effusion of more blood
 then of two or three persons. The Mar-
 quess *de la Puebla*, kinsman to the *Conde*
Duke, with some other of the principall
Spaniards, were secured as hostages for
 those *Portugals* that should be found at
Madrid, or else where in the Catholique
 Kings dominion. Thursday following the
 Duke made his entry into *Lisbon*, with the
 generall acclamations of all sorts, crying,
God save King John, all the Canons dis-
 charging, Bells ringing, with Bonfires and
 Fireworks for three nights following.
 And the more to gain the peoples affecti-
 ons, divers impositions were taken off, pri-
 soners set at liberty, and Offices confer'd
 upon the Race of those whose Ancestors
 had enjoyed the same under the naturall
 Kings of *Portugall*.

All sorts of Men, Clergy or Laymen
 or women, brought in their Plate, Gold,
 Jewels, &c. to make money for the main-
 tenance of this new Kingdome. The Cler-
 gy brought in as a gift six hundred thou-
 sand Crowns, the Nobility four hundred
 thou-

thousand, and the people one Million of Gold.

The 15 of *December* the King was sworn, and *January* the 28 following, was delared and confirmed in a generall Assembly or Parliament of the Three States, Lords Spiritual, Lords Temporal, and Commons of that Kingdom.

The King sent a courteous Complement by some Nobles to the *Infanta Margarit* of *Savoy*, assuring her of all civill usage befitting a Princess of her quality, desiring her withall to forbear all discourse whereby she might instill into his subjects hearts any opinion prejudicial to his most just and righteous cause. But she notwithstanding, with much boldnesse, after many expressions of thankfulnessse to the Duke, fell into a large and grave exhortation to those Nobles to lay aside all vain hopes, and return to their true allegiance, not donbting to obtain pardon, but the *Rubicon* was already passed; nor is any *Rhetorick* powerful enough to perswade a King to quit a Royal Scepter.

The King was about 37 years old when he

he was proclaimed King, affecting always a plain Garb and sober diet, often saying, that great personages ought to be affable, and that any clothes becom them, and any diet nourisheth them; he is very active of body, few there are that can outrun him; and indeed he hath run wel that hath gained a Crown. He hath by his wife the sister of the Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, many sons and daughters.

Thus was the Kingdom of *Portugal*, the best pearl in the king of *Spains* Crown, utterly lost. It is for wealth, power and commodity of situation, above all other that Kings Dominions; It is 350 miles long, and about 120 broad, lying all along upon the Sea, thick peopled and powerful at Sea. With it revolted all the *Tercera* Islands, all the *East Indies*, all upon the coast of *Africa*, but onely one Town called *Centa*, which is the onely place that belonged to the *Portugall* Kings, that is now in the hand of the *Spaniard*.

Immediatly Ambassadors were dispatched into *England* and *Holland*, but chiefly

chiefly into *Catalonia*, to offer them all aide and assistance possible. The newes of the generall Revolt of *Portugall* stroke a generall sadness in all the Court at *Madrid*, onely the *Conde Duke* came laughing to the King (some would thereby collect, that the Duke took great delight in chastising the people, and imposing new Laws) and demanded of His Majesty *las Albricias*, as they call it, that is. A reward for bringing of good news, for that His Majesty was now absolute over *Portugall*, (the People having forfeited all their Priviledges by their Rebellion) and lawfull Owner of all the Estate of the duke of *Braganza*, and all the Nobles his followers, to dispose amongst his Loyall Subjects: Although others imagine with more reason, that the *Conde Duke* inwardly resented that business more then any man; but according to his manner, would set a good face on it.

After so many principall Feathers had been pluckt out of the *Austrian* Eagle; as if the world had conspired to leave Her stark naked, some nearer home began to
be

be plucking likewise. The Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, whose sister was now Queen of *Portugall*, with some other discontented Nobles of *Andaluſia* (the next beſt Countrey that the King of *Spain* had at this time) reſolve by the help of the *Portugall*, their next Neighbour, and the aſſiſtance of the *French* and *Dutch* fleet, then near upon that Coaſt, to Cantonize all *Andaluſia*, and *Medina Sidonia* to bee Head thereof; unleſs the King would bee perſwaded to change the preſent Miniſters of State, and require a juſt account of ſo many Millions gathered of the People; which if He would doe, they would then continue his Loyall Subjects: But the *Conde Duke* by his cunning extinguished this fire in the Birth, for with much ſweetneſs and fair words, without the leaſt violence, he drew the Duke of *Medina Sidonia* to *Madrid*, and ſecured his perſon (as he ſtands at this day in *Valliadolid*) and ſent another Govern ur with ſuch Inſtructions, that he ſatiſfied or terrified all turbulent ſpirits.

THESE

These many disasters one upon the neck of another, awaked the Court of *Spain*, and so startled them, that they now began to double their diligence and circumspection, insomuch that the Councell of State sate constantly morning and Evening, to provide against the many storms that threatned on every side. Not long before the disgrace and death of the *Conde Duke*, was discovered the unparaleld Forgery of *Michael de Molina*, and his Treachery in giving informations, some false and some true, to most of the Ambassadors of Forraign States; which for its extraordinary strangeness (for it is *Exemplum sine Exemplo*) shall after this Relation be fully rehearied.

But to proceed, nevertheless the *Conde Duke* cast all the miscarriages in *Portugall* upon the *Infanta*; and laboured as much as possibly hee could to hinder her from coming to Court, lest she should justifie her self, and cast (if not suspicion upon his Loyalty, yet at least a foul blot upon his Reputation; therefore she being sent out of *Portugall*, was by *Olivarez* means con-

fined

fined in *Estremadura*, and afterwards at *Ocacia* near *Madrid*, where shee was not allowed necessaries; which made her at length privately fly away to *Madrid*.

Besides the *Infanta*, he had also much discontented the chief Nobility, who afterward all helped to pull him out of his seat; for he never thought himself sufficiently assured in the Kings favor and command of the Kingdome, unless (after *Tarquins* example) he abased (instead of cutting off) the Heads of the *Grandeas*; the house of *Lerma*, the house of *Toledo*, the Duke of *Alva*, the duke of *Ferrandino*, the duke of *Hijar*, the dukes of *Maqueda*, *Lemos*, *Fuentealida*, *Altamire*, &c. All either ruined or disgraced by the Dukes means. Onely the *Conde de Monterey*, and the *Marquês de Leganes* were thought worthy by *Olivarez* to have part in the Government; two Men of mean extraction and Fortune, by their prodigious exactions (for which they were called *Los dos Ladrones*, the two Theeves) raised to incredible wealth. Whereat the prime Nobility of Spain were so much incensed,

that they all withdrew themselves from Court, none waiting upon the King at Table, at Chappell, nor in Hunting; so that *Olivarez* now was said to bee sole Servant, as sole Master of his Catholique Majesty; at which time he was in his third Seventh year, or grand Climacterical of his Favor, for he declined and fell soon after, beyond the hopes and expectation, but on this side the desires and wishes of the whole Monarchy. Because the Fall of this huge tall *Cedar* was so late and eminent, the manner of his Fall, the Ropes and Engines made use of, together with the Persons that put their Hands to this work, shall bee more particularly related.

The favour of the Count *Olivarez*, duke of St *Lucar*, which had continued twenty two yeares, had cast so deep roots in the heart of the King, that all the world believed it to be as immoveable as the old Oak that resists all storms; and that it was never to be shaken, neither by the Winds of Envie, nor the Whirlwinds of persecution, nor yet by the Tempests which of

ten arise in Kings Courts by the conspira-
 cies and conjurations of those who are
 ambitious of rule ; that which upheld this
 common conceite was the naturall incli-
 nation which the King had from his youth
 to the person and rare endowments of the
 Lord Duke; an inclination which proceed-
 ed as some judged rather out of a kinde of
 respect then bare amity, because the affec-
 tion towards him which upon all ocafi-
 ons he expressed was not a token of singu-
 lar love only, but of a certain fear to doe
 any thing that might give the least disgust
 to him, which was no small diminution
 of his Royal greatnes, and seemed to over-
 throw the very order which Nature and
 the lawes doth establish twixt King and
 Subject: insomuch that some out of respect
 to his Majesty would not question his pru-
 dence, but rather believe and publish that
 this so strong passion could not be effected
 without some kind of witchcraft; but the
 Dukes known vertues were sufficient to
 convince such popular slanders.

The first motives of the disgrace of the
 Lord Duke, were the unfortunate successes

of the Monarchy of *Spain*, whilst he had the managing thereof. In the losse of *Ormus*, *Goa* and all those other vast dominions in the East *Indies*, the losse of *Brasile* and the *Terceras* Ilands, of the Kingdome of *Portugal* and the Principality of *Catalonia*, the two most populous and fertile parts of all that Continent: of *Rosfillion* and a part of *Rurgundy*: of *Hesdin* and *Arras* in *Flanders*, of divers strong Towns in *Luxemburg*, of that most important Place *Bri-sach*: The impoverishment and almost ruin of the Kingdomes of *Naples*, and *Sicily*, and of the Dutchy of *Milan*: the losse of above two hundred ships at sea: the extorting from the subject by First fruits; One part whereof was employed towards the raising of Armies that were soon lost, and to rigge Navies that were soon destroyed; the other part hoarded up in the Coffers of the Vice Royes, Governours, Generalls and other Ministers of state, his creatures. All these things laid together made the world desire to see the recovery of these losses built upon his ruins, by his fall to see the rise of the Monarchy,

and

and by his disgrace and ruin to set up the reputation of the King and reformation of the State.

But desires effect little, there must be vigorous endeavours to remove such a favourit, with a resolution to ruin or be ruined, no medium there; *Chi vuoll appicar il sonaglio alla gatta*: when none other durst venture to hang the bell about the Cats neck, it was undertaken by the Queen.

It happened that the King going in person to his Army in *Catalonia*, the Queen was left Governesse at *Madrid*, where she had opportunity to employ and make known her rare qualities and endowments; for abateing the austere gravity of the *Spaniards*, and mixing it with the courtesy of the *French*; she oft visited the souldiery about *Madrid*, discoursed with the Captains, took order for their pay, encouraged them to serve faithfully the King, caused Justice to be administred with integrity, gave often audience to all sortes, discontented none in the raysing moneyes, and in all affaires behaved her selfe with such an heroick discretion; that all men esteemed

her the most deserving Queen that ever *Spain* had, the fame of her merit that had been buried so many years, arrived to the Kings eare at his return to *Madrid*, where shee took occasion to speake of the Interest of the Monarchy, of the losse of Kingdomes and ruin of Armyes, the want of money, the continuall complaints of subjects; and that the King might not imagine she spake in opposition to the Duke, shee authorized all with the testimonies of some of the principall Ministers of state, who had already agreed to second her so soon as she had broken the ice; amongst whom was the Count *de Castriello*, who was the more forward herein, not only because he was a lover of the *Publick*; but also because he was brother to the Marques *de Carpio* who married the Dukes sister, whereby he had *Don Lewes de Haro* (the present favorit) who was the only nephew of the Duke, yet disinherited by him to the end he might advance his bastard.

The King considering their discourse, began to be perswaded at length that if the Duke had any longer the Managery

of the state all would come to ruin; here-upon every day abateing the fervour of his affections towards him, he would sometimes reproach the Duke that hee was ill informed, and sometimes that hee was a most unfortunate man: The Duke fore-seeing his declination, demanded leave to retire himself from the Court; whereto the King answered coldly, my Lord, we ought both of us to devise some remedy for these misfortunes. In the mean time it was noysed abroad that the favour of the Duke was so shaken that one shock more would down with it to the ground, all men blessing and commending the Queen, crying that the *Isabells* were ever fortunat to the Monarchy of *Spain*, *Isabell* of *Portugall* wife of King *John* the 2^d overthrew the intolent favour of *Alvares de Luna*, and discharged her husbands Kingdom of the tyranny of that favorite: *Isabella de Castile* demonstrated to *Ferdinand* her Husband that in the Kings Court, the Kings favourite ought to be none but the Queen that the subjects were born only to obey and the King to command: and that the happy removall of this most puissant

favourite could bee hoped from no other hand but of *Isabella de Burbon*.

When a Tree is falling, every one cries Down with it. A Lady that was once the Kings Nurce, *Donna Anna de Guevara*, partly out of zeal to the Kings service, and partly to be revenged on the Dutcheſs, as the King was to paſs by night from his Lodgings to the Queens, ſhe put herſelf in the paſſage, caſting herſelf at the kingsfeet, & having proteſted that ſhe was not there to demand any grace at his Majeſties hands, but to render to the Crown of *Spain* the greateſt ſervice that it could receive; ſhe ſaid that her motherly affection enforced her to diſcover to his Majeſty what perhaps many others durſt not for human reſpects. The King giving her leave to ſpeak freely, ſhe repreſented unto him the generall affliction of his people, the calamity of his Kingdoms, the abuſes committed in his Revenues, the many loſſes on every ſide, and the ſad condition of the whole Monarchy of *Spain* ſhewing him, that theſe evils were the judgments of God upon him, for ſuffering the government of his Kingdoms which God had appointed for

for him onely, to continue in the hands of another, that now it was high time that his Majesty should be out of his minority, and that he should not incense the wrath of God against him, by suffering his poor subjects to be abused, ; at least that he would have compassion on the Prince his Son, who ran an hazard to be simple King of *Castile*, or lesse; concluding, that if she had offended his Majesty by her liberty of speech, she was ready to receive punishment, being well content having given her milk for the good of her King, to sacrifice her blood for the good of the Realms of her Prince. The King having hearkned unto her with much attention, answered, *Haveis hablado verdades*, You have told me the truth.

After this appears upon the Stage (for perfecting the Catastrophe of the Dukes Tragedy) the *Infanta Margarite de Savoy* Dutcheß of *Savoy*, who had been so roughly handled by the Duke both before & after her leaving *Portugall*, being secretly come from *Ocania*, where she had been in a manner confined, and arrived at Court, the

Duke did his utmost to debar her audience with the King, and to discredit her in the Councell of State, and would not vouchsafe to visit her. Neverthelesse the Queen invited her to come to her Lodgings, and took order that she should have opportunity to speak with the King for two hours space.

The *Infanta* gave God thanks for her safe deliverance out of the hands of the *Portugals*, that after so great sufferings, she might once more appear in the presence of his Majesty, to make known her innocence, and the failings and errors of others, made a brief Relation of all things past in *Portugall*, making it appear that she was innocent, and that the losse of *Portugall* was to be attributed to the carelesnesse and negligence, if not to the intention of the Duke. The Queen in the mean time failed not to help out the *Infanta* in all her discourse, which left so deep an impression in the heart of the King, that it may truly be said, That the mortal wound was given that very day to the favour of the Duke. To dispatch him
the

the sooner, it was represented to the King what little respect the *Grandeess* bare now to his Majesty, not waiting upon him as they were wont, but all retiring themselves. The King asked the Marquess of *Carpio* what was the reason hereof? Who replied, That being little accounted of by the Duke, they judged it more meet to forbear the services they owed to his Majesty, then to lie under the suspicion of the Duke, and to give him occasion by their residence at Court, to make them feel the effects of his jealousy. To help forward, there happened a memorable accident in *Segovia*, where six men masked entring by force into the Governors house, who imagining them to be Robbers, offered them money, and all that he had, so they would not defile his wife, and defloure his daughters: One of them answered, That they were not come to rob him, but to serve the King, and delivering a paper into his hands, told him, that if he would save his life, t he should go immediately to *Madrid* and present this Writing, not to the Duke, but to the King
him.

himself, that it contained affairs very secret, and of great importance to the State, and to the service of his Majesty; and would not depart till they saw him upon his way to *Madrid*, threatening to kill him if he performed not that whereto he was obliged as a subject, and as a Minister of the Kings. Being arrived, he had audience of the King, and so was sent back to his Government. It was judged by the circumstances, that the contents of the Writing was very prejudiciall to the Duke.

Hereunto may be added one thing more that might probably have a strong influence upon the spirit of the King for the removall of his Favourite. The Marquess of *Grana*, Ambassador in *Madrid* for the Emperour, bringing with him the hereditary valour of the House of *Caretti*, the courage, prudence, and conduct of Affairs whereof he hath given sufficient testimonies in the military employments which he hath had many years in *Italy*, in *Flanders*, and in *Germany*, together with his great gift of five Languages, which he speaks as if they were all naturall, hath gained

gained him a great esteem with all men. And the liberty which he used in speaking of the affairs of the State (although it proceeded from the natural ingenuity and zeal towards the interest of the House of *Austria*) rendring him odious to the Duke, whose ears had been accustomed to hear onely applauses full of flattery, and not the plain sincere truth, having now an opportunity to revenge himself with Justice, did it to the purpose : For having received a letter from the Emperour to the King, that the affairs of the House of *Austria* grew worse and worse every day, so that if speedy order were not taken, all would be ruined, that his Majesty ought to consider wel the quality of the person that had made him lose *Portugall*, *Catalonia*, and so many other Dominions, &c. He presently communicates the same to the *Queen*, together with his instructions, that he had a part of what he should doe therein (for the Letter was open) and so had audience of the King, where it may well be imagined with what violence and ardor he prest the affair against his enemy.

To

To all these assaults that came upon the neck one of another, this was none of the least, that the Prince *Don Balthazar Carlos* the only son of the King, was now going into the fourteenth year of his Age; yet to the great astonishment of all the world, he continued under the tuition of Women, without any Officers and servants given him, after the manner of Princes; whereas at the same time one of the Kings base sons of the same age had a Court formed him, was declared Generalissimo of *Portugall*, Prince of the Sea, and Grand Prior of *Castile* for the order of *Malta*, and named *Don John de Austria*, and had the Marquess of *Castanieda* given him for his Governor; whereat the people murmured greatly: For this *Don John* was begotten upon a Woman of base Extraction, called *la Calderona*, a Comedian, not handsome, but of extraordinary pleasantness; who is since made a Nunne. The Youth being of excellent parts, and like to make a gallant Man, was much affected by the King, though he be quite of another complexion.

The King having before been earnest to have formed a Family and Officers for the Prince, the *Conde Duke* alwayes hindered the same; because first, hee feared that the Prince, who was of a most lively spirit, would then finde out that abroad, whereof the King was kept ignorant at home. Secondly, to gain an opportunity by prolonging the time, for Don *Henry* his Bastard to fashion himself for the Court, and by his Match and Honours conferred upon him, be at length reputed fit to bee Governor to the Prince, and succeed in the grace and favour of the King. At length the King being earnestly solicited by the Queen, formed a List of the Servants that were to serve the Prince in his Court now to be erected, because he was of the Age of Fourteen years; giving notice to the *Duke* that provision might be made of al things necessary for a Court: The *Duke* tooke the List and changed a great number in the same, which displeased the King extremely, having been before for other reasons sufficiently moved; after the King spake of the Princes Lodgings, desiring to know

know the *Dukes* Opinion; who answered, That his Highness would be very well in the Lodgings of the *Infante Cardinal* deceased: But why my Lord (replyed the King) will not He be better in those Lodgings you are in at present, which are the very Lodgings that my Father and I had being Princes? The Duke was with this struck dumbe, perceiving well that his disgrace drew neare: for certain it is, That his extreme insolence hastned as much as possible the Resolution that the King had taken: For that very Evening his Majesty wrote him a Billet with his own Hand, whereby hee forbad him to meddle any more in the Government; and from henceforward hee should retire to *Loeches*, not farre from *Madrid*, untill farther Order should bee given. The Duke read this Billet without any disturbance, resolving in a matter of that weight not to discharge his minde but to his Wife only, to whom he sent the Note by a Post to *Loeches*.

Next day she came weeping to her Husband; and after two houres discourse went to speak with the King, who soon dis-

patcht

patcht her, the same day shee cast her self with teares at the Queens feet, beseeching her to intercede for them, in consideration of the many services and sincere faithfulness of the Duke her husband.

The Queen gave her a short answer, *Lo que han hecho Dios los vasallos y los malos successos no lo puede deshazer el Rey en yo.* What God, the people, and evill successes have done, the King nor I can undoe. This businesse was not known Friday and Saturday to any but *Don Lewis de Haro*, of whom the King made use to talk with the Duke about some secret affairs. This *Don Lewis de Haro* is Nephew to the Duke, but so hated by him, that lately his mother dying, who was sister to the Duke, he would not once send to visit him; notwithstanding *Don Lewis* carried himselfe so Nobly in this occasion, that casting himselfe at the kings feet, he beseeched him that in regard the Dukes removall was irrevocable, yet that it would please his Majesty at least that it should be done with all the mildness, and with as little diminution of his Honor, as the Justice of his

his Majesty could permit. The King hereupon granted that the Duke should continue three days in his Palace; that hee should assist at the Councils and Assemblies, and give Audience for his particular affairs: Also, it was permitted to the Duke, that in presence of the chief Notary, and of Secretary *Carnero*, hee should review all his Papers, and burn what hee pleased; which he did: Though the King were thought too indulgent therein.

The same day, as some came to have Audience of the Duke, he bad let them know, That he was a little indisposed, and suffered none to enter. Saturday morning the King sent to demand the Key wherewith he entred the Kings Lodgings at his pleasure; but hee sent to demand Audience of the King, which Hee granted him in publick before the *Patriarch*, and divers Gentlemen of his Bedchamber; where he spake more then a quarter of an hour; and whereas the King was wont to heare with attention those that spoke, hee now seemed to be careless of what the Duke said, who having made an end, went immediatly in-

to a Junta, where he shewed himself as rigorous as ever; and handled so roughly two of the Secretaries, that they said afterwards one to another, *Que Diablo tiene el Conde en la Cabeça nos ha tratados como trapos viejos.* What the Devill aileth the Count? He hath handled us like Scullions. The same day some Ambassadors demanded audience of him, but had not admission under pretence that he was not well. Finally, that evening being St. *Anthony's* day, the disgrace of the Duke began to be noised in the Palace, but with such excess of joy, as that the next morning was found a paper stuck up at the Palace gate with these verses;

*En el dia de Sant Antonio
Hicieronse milagros dos
Empeço a reinar Dios
Y del Rey se echo el Demonio.*

Upon the day of Saint *Anthony*
God did his reign begin,
The Divell on the same Saints day
Was cast out of the King.

E

Next

Next day being *Sunday*, the joy was so universall, that had it not been a little curbed by the fear that men had that the Duke by his craft would regain the Kings favour, there would have been publick fires of joy; however all that day the Fruterers & Bakers threw their Wares to those that would have them, without taking any money, to testifie their excess of joy and contentment.

Munday the King, Queen, Prince, *Infanta*, and Dutchess of *Mantua*, passing all in one Coach towards the *Carmelites*, a great multitude of people followed, crying, *Viva el Rey por lo que ha hecho viva el Rey y muera el mal gobierno*. God save the King for what he hath done; let the King live, and the ill government die. There arrived also an infinite number of people to participate of the common joy which was taken for the disgrace of the Duke.

Tuesday the Dutchess with extraordinary submissiveness, attempted again to make an accomodation, but all in vain, whereat the Duke was so enraged against the Queen, whom he looked upon as the

sole

sole cause of his disfavour, that as soon as the King was departed to goe to the Escuriall, he carried himself in the Councils and Junta's in such a manner that he made the world believe he was yet to stay, which not onely cooled the generall joy, but amazed the Queen so greatly, that that night she wrot a most pressing letter to the King concerning him.

Thursday evening, the King returning towards *Madrid*, met on the way ten *Grandees* of *Spain*, and asked them what was happened at *Madrid*, that made so many come together? Don *Melchior de Borgia* answered him, That the time was now come, that his Majesty might know the true devotion of the *Grandees* towards the Crown, and that if heretofore they had not waited upon him according to their obligations, his Majesty knew well the reason of the same.

The King being arrived at the Palace in *Madrid*, asked whether the Duke was retired, it was answered, No. The King in a chafe turning to Don *Lewes de Haro*, saying, *Que aguarda el hombre, la fuerza?*

What doth the man stay for to be thrust out? Hereupon the Duke seeing no more hopes left, prepared himself to be gone, spending the whole night in viewing his papers, and burning a great part of them. In the mean time the people longed to see the day of his departure, and one more impatient then the rest, set abroad this Distick;

*Phosphore redde diem, quid gaudia nostra
moraris,*

*Ecce Comes Cecidit ! Phosphore redde
diem.*

Friday about one of the clock afternoon, he departed not without much artifice; For fearing to be torn in pieces by the people, having caused Coaches and Mules to stand ready for three dayes together before he intended to depart; But as the Coaches with six Horses waited at the great gate of the Palace, he went forth by the back gate behind the kitchen, and put himself into an ill-favoured Coach drawn with four Mules, where having drawn the Curtains, and placed himself

himselfe between two Iesuits, as if he had been going to execution, he took his way by the street of *Atocha*, at the same time that his Family in his velvet Coaches passed the ordinary way, where they were met with a company of Boyes, that thinking the Duke was there, discharged a shoure of stones at the Coaches; but being shewn that the Duke was not there, they ceased; so that the Duke by this subtilty arrived safe at *Loeches*, a place whereof he had the Royalty.

In the mean time the Dutcheß continued at Court, governing the Prince and little *Infanta*; but without once entring into the *Queens* chamber.

Now the consequences of this disgrace of *Olivarez*, are many, and those very remarkable. In the first place, the King hath thereby recovered the credit and reputation which he had utterly lost in the opinions of all men as well forraigners as sublects, who saw him so wholly led away by the will of the *Conde* Duke, that he seemed rather a Subject then a Sovereign.

But on the *Saturday* after the departure of *Olivarez*, the King called a Councell of State in his Lodgings, where he spake so judiciously, that all admired his ability, and testified by their tears their great affections and respects towards him: The subject of the Kings discourse was to advertise the Councell how he had deprived the *Conde* Duke of his dignities, not for any crime that he had committed, but to satisfie himself in giving satisfaction and content to his subjects; That his desire was, That the memory of the *Conde* Duke might be kept in esteem among all men for the good services which he had so faithfully rendred to the Crown so many years, protesting for the future, not to give the Title of *Favourite* to any of his subjects, but to assist himself in all Councils, and that all weighty affairs should pass through his own hands, commanding to every one of those there, to speak their opinions freely without partiality at all times, and not to conceale the truth from him. Whereto the Cardinall *Borgia*, as head of that Councell, answered, That they would
give

give obedience to these his Majesties commands, as to Laws Divine.

Next day his Majesty having called together all his Gentlemen of his Bed-chamber, whereof most are *Grandeets of Spain*; he demanded the assistance of their Tenants, Friends and Kindred, for the speedy settlement of the kingdom: Which together with other testimonies of prudence and care that his Majesty manifested, made all men say, It was now the time that *Philip* the fourth deserved the surname of *Grand*, which had been given him by the flattery of *Olivarez*, at that time when he caused his Majesty to lose his Dominions and Reputation.

Next day the King caused all his plate to be coined into money, by whose example also the Nobility and Commons sent theirs to the Mint, and all contented themselves to be served in earthen ware.

The next consequence of *Olivarez* disgrace was the advancements of divers Noblemen to their dignities, and the pulling down of the Favorites of the *Conde Duke*,

The third effect, and perhaps that which *Olivarez* resented most of all, is the miserable condition of his Bastard son, a business of that strange and extraordinary carriage, that it is worthy a large Treatise, but was briefly thus; The *Conde Duke* being at *Madrid* twelve years before he was in favour at Court, fell in love with *Donna Marguerita Spinola*, whose Father was a *Genoway*, and mother a *Spaniard*. This Lady, though noble and rich, yet was not free from temptations, amongst which riches and honour are the most efficacious. *Don Francisco de Valeasar*, *Alcalde* of the Court and Palace, one of the highest places of Judicature in *Spain*, although he had a wife, one *Donna Marguerita* to his lust, maintained her and her family at his charges, and with profuse presents and Jewels, kept her wholly to himself. At length *Olivarez* with much difficulty, got a share in her also; and she soon after had a son named *Julian*, which none then made doubt to be the son of the *Alcalde*, who nevertheless understanding that others had had a finger in the pye as well as himself, took no affection

affection to, nor care of the child; so he was brought up idly by the mother untill the age of 18 years; at which time his mother dying, and he finding himself without father or mother, went boldly to the *Alcalde*, and besought him to declare him his son, that so he might not be exposed to the world without Father and without Name; protesting that he would never lay claim to any thing, but onely under the name of *Valeasar* he would get his living with his Sword. The *Alcalde* wholly uncertain that he was his child, would not be induced to declare thus till upon his death-bed, and then rather out of charity then belief that he was his son. So then by the name of *Julian Valeasar* he went first into the Indies, where for some Roguery he was condemned to be hanged; but because the Vice-king there was a great friend to the *Alcalde*, he gave him his pardon. Thence he went into *Flanders* and *Italy*, where he served as a common Souldier, but was very debosht and of rude behaviour. In the mean time *Olivarez* having no further hope of children, sent to search out this

this vagabond *Valeasar*, who he remembered was born at the time that he had to do with his mother; but before *Valeasar* could be found, he had married *D. Isabella de Azueta*, a common Strumpet; nevertheless *November 1641.* to the astonishment of all men, *Olivarez* owned him for his son, and declared him so by a public act by the good will and pleasure of his Majesty, wherein he names him, *Don Henry Philipe de Guzman*, heir apparent of the Count *de Olivarez*, and of the Dutchy of *St. Lucar*, so soon as it shall please his Majesty in acknowledgement of his services, to make him a Grandee of *Spain*; because the Title of *Duke* in *Castile* is not given but to those that may stand covered in the Kings presence.

Olivarez advertized all Ambassadors and Grandees hereof, to the great displeasure of all his Family and Kindred; then resolves to marry him with one of the principall Ladies of *Spain*: To which end he cast his eye upon the first Lady of the Court, *Donna Juana de Velasco*, daughter to the Constable of *Castile*, who for No
bleness

bleness of blood is not to be equalled by
 any the Subjects of that Kingdome. For
 he shews in the Arms of his Predecessors,
 five Royall Quarrers. To accomplish this
 match, it was necessary to annull the for-
 mer marriage by an order from *Rome*. The
 Pope deputed the Bishop of *Avila* with
 full power, who notwithstanding the Pro-
 tests of the woman, gave sentence against
 her, because she was not married by her
 own Parson, although some more conscien-
 tious Divines gave their opinions in favour
 of the woman, and that the marriage was
 good and valuable; but the authority of
 the Favourite prevailed over these reasons,
 and the marriage was solemnly broken. In
 pursuance whereof *Olivarez* treated for a
 match with the said Lady, and in spite
 of her Father and Kindred, obtained her
 for his Bastard. And here one might ob-
 serve the base spirits of Flatterers, for all
 the Grandees, all the Nobility of the
 Court, all Officers of State, went to give
 Don *Henry el para bien*, or joy of his mar-
 riage, treating him by the Title of *Excel-
 lency*, and giving him respect fitter for a
 King

King then a subject. In the mean time he became so ridiculous a personage in his carriag, that not being accustomed to such ceremonies he often fell into great absurdities which made some *Italians* say, *Don Harrigo era un Facchino vestito da ReSpagnuolo*. That Don Henry was a plowman dressed like a King.

A Pallace was provided for Duke Henry, so rich and sumptuous that never any, Grandee of *Spain* had the like, Presents were sent him from all persons and all Places, the Duke of *Medina de las Torres* sent him a present valued at twenty five thousand Crownes. Don Henry received the Habit of *Alcantara* with a Commanderie of ten thousand Crownes and was declared a gentleman of the Kings bedchamber with promise to have the Charge of President of the *Indies* and all to make way for to be governour to the Prince for which porpose the Prince was kept under the government of the Duchesse of *Olivares* and no Court formed longer then the ordinary and accustomed time. Now the hatred was so generall and so great against

gainst D. Henry who could not forbear his base carriage and behaviour that the people sang publickly.

*Enriquez de dos Nombres y dos Mugerres,
Hijo de dos Padres y dos Madres,
Valgate el Diablo el Hombre que mas qui-
sieres.*

Harry, a Man of two Names and two Wives; a Son of two Fathers and two Mothers. The Devil take him that owns thee.

The declaring of this Bastard heir to Olivarez, greatly displeased the Marquess of Carpio, who married Olivarez sister, because hereby was disinherited the right Heir Don Lewis de Haro, son to the said Marquess, already declared so, an honest Gentleman, and of good parts, and at present sole Favourite in the Court of Spain.

Upon the fall of the Conde Duke, Don Henry immediatly lost the Title of Excellency, his great train, and the Kings favour, and from a great Idoll became a Man of Clouts

Clouts, scorned by all men. The Constable intended to take home his daughter, and to declare the former marriage valuable. But some Nobles with whom he advised thereof, telling him that he should forbear such attempt; for the former marriage being declared valuable, his daughter will be declared an Adulteress; whereto he answered, I had rather *Donna Juana* were taken for my daughter and a Whore, then chaste and wife of such a Fellow.

Not long after D. *Henry* died without issue, and his Father the *Conde* Duke of grief ended his dayes at the House where he was confined; the one ending like a Comet after a great blaze for a short time; the other like a Candle, after a long time in a snuff.

*Next followeth the unparalleled Case
of Michael de Molina.*

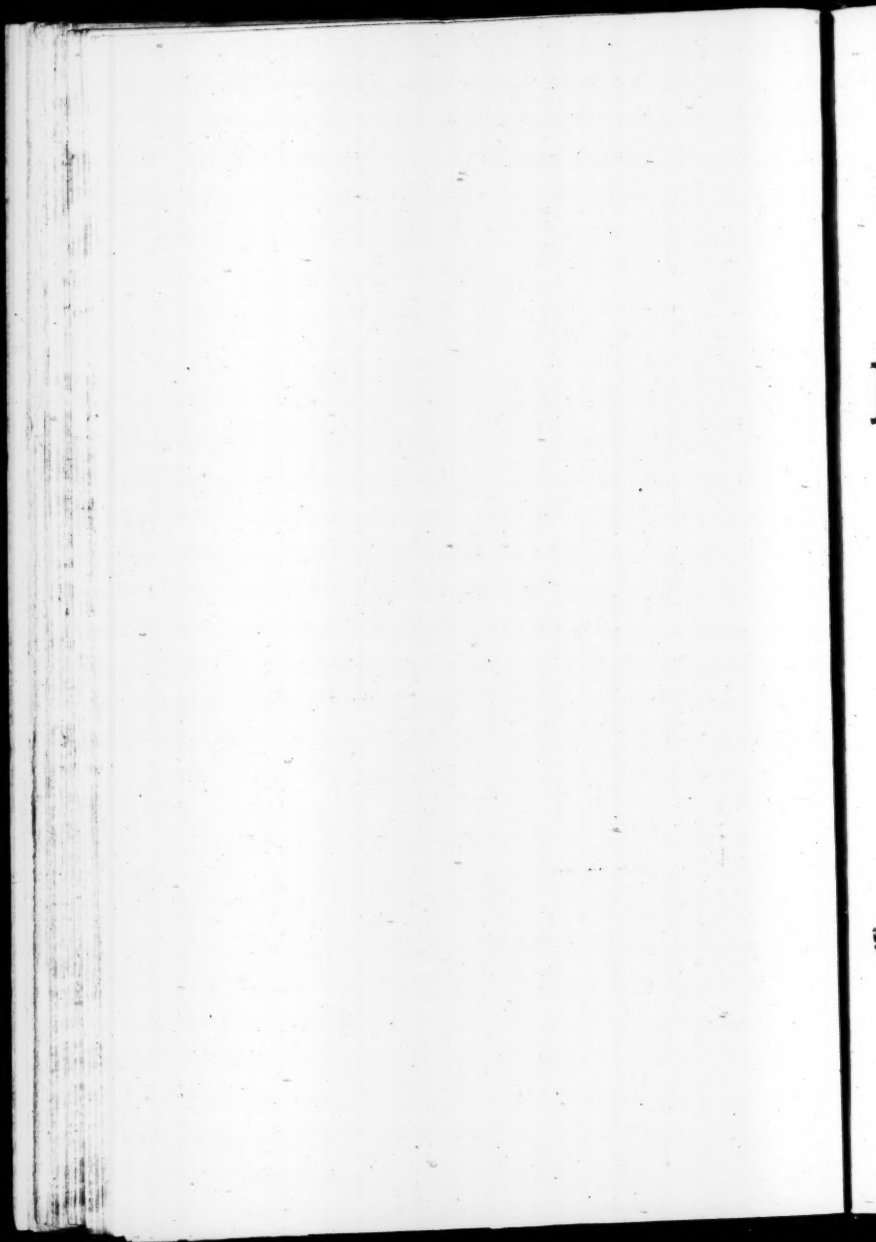
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Exemplum sine Exemplo:

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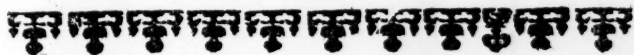
Michaell de Molina,

Executed at *Madrid* in the

Year 1641.

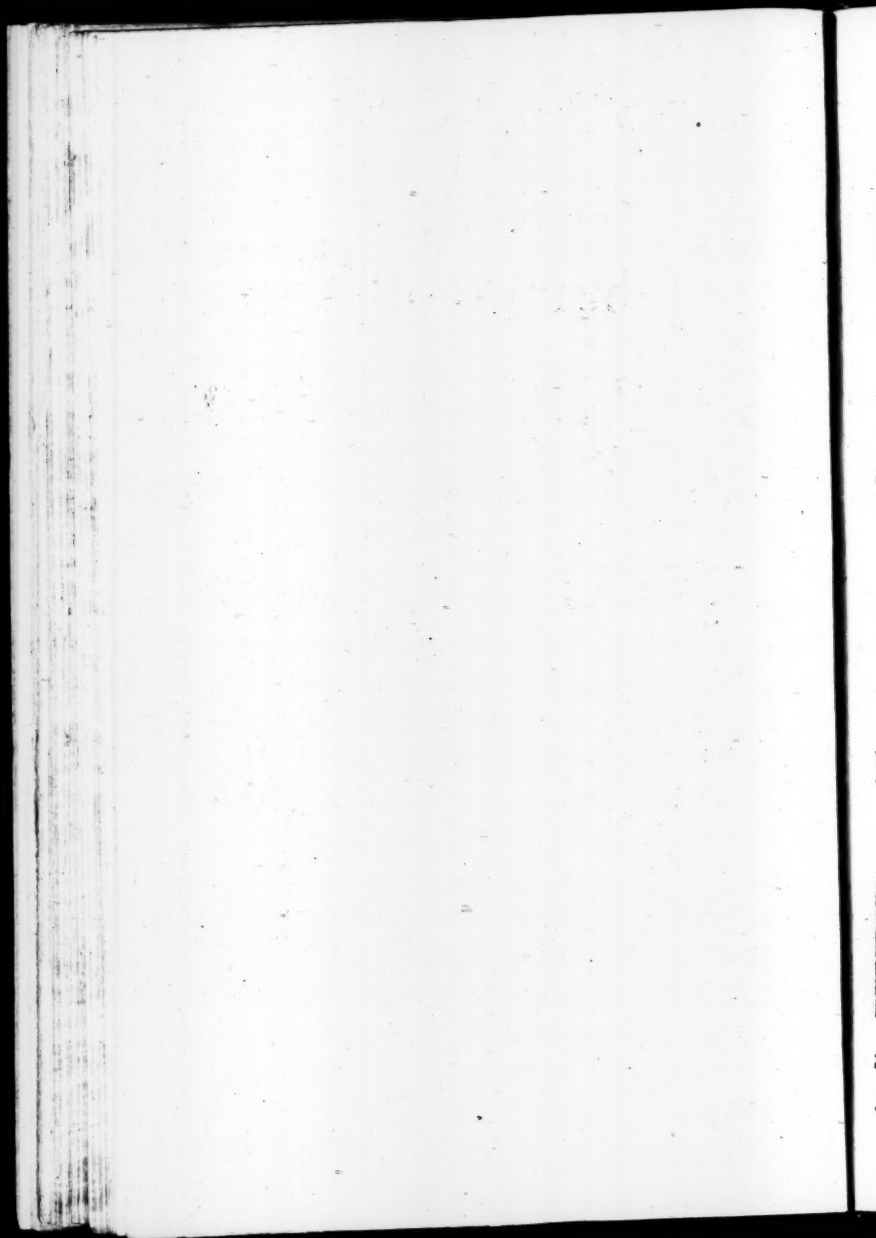
Faithfully Translated out of the

S P A N I S H.



LONDON,

Printed for *Tho. Heath*, 1653.





Exemplum sine Exemplo :

O R,

The unparallel'd CASE

O F

Michael de Molina

Executed at *Madrid* in the
Year 1641.

Faithfully Translated out of the
S P A N I S H.



Michael de Molina, born of honest
parents at *Cuenca*, a City in
the Kingdom of *Castile*, bred
there in the Jesuits Colledg,
and after at the University of *Alcala de*
Henares; to try his fortune, went thence

to Court, where to gain a living speedily, he undertooke to give secret intelligence to the secretaries of the severall Ambassadors then residing at that Court; and to give the more credit to his reports, gave out, That he was servant to *Andrew de Rojas*, Cavalier of the order of *Santiago*, and secretary of the Councill of State: insomuch that he forged letters, feigned discourses, framed intelligences fitted for the purposes and affayres of the Ambassadors wherewith he dealt, counterfeited the Kings hand, invented Cyphers, made consultations and orders to the number of 345 severall Papers, and all with that dexterity, that he deceived and abused not only the secretaries of the *Emperour the Venetian*, and *French Ambassadors*, but also and most of all, *Don Lorenzo Coqui*, secretary to the late *Don Lorenzo Campeggi*, Nuntio to the Pope, in whose house he was at length apprehended; upon whose apprehension and search of his papers, he told the officers That if the tenour of those papers should

should be looked upon as jests and conceits, he should not speed so ill; but if as a crime it would appear so great that one life would not be enough to pay for the same. And his Majesty taking notice that the business was of that importance that the like had not been heard or found in any History, Commanded that there should be on purpose a Court of Justice composed of two of the chiefe Nobility, and two of the Cheife Judges, before whom when the said *Michael de Molina* was sufficiently convinced, and had made a large confession (which for its matchlesse strangenes shall be verbatim set down) he was sentenced as followeth;

IN the town of *Madrid* July 31 1641.
The Lords of his Majestyes Counsell,
who by particular order have taken
cognizance of the accusation given in
by Don *Marcellino Faria de Guzman* At-
turney, nominated by his Majesty, for
this cause against *Michael de Molina* late
of *Cuenca*, prisoner in the Gaole of this

Court for offences and high treason committed by him, whereof he hath been accused, doe condemne the said *Michael Molina* to be hanged on a gallowes, and his goods to be confiscated to the Kings use, the execution whereof they leave to the Lord Judge D. *John de Quinnoues*; and this is their will and pleasure.

This sentence was made known to the prisoner upon the first of August, and execution done accordingly in the *Plaza Major* of *Madrid*, the third day following; at which time and place the Proclamation usually made at the execution was thus;

THIS is the Justice which the King our Sovereigne Lord commandeth to be done upon this man, for having committed high treason, and published falsities, forgeries, and horrible cheats on the affaires and grave ministers of state; for which he commands that he be hanged by the neck till he die, to the
end

end that it may be to him for a punishment, and to others an example ; then concludes, *Quien tal haze tal pague, He that thus doeth, let him thus pay for the same.* As he stood upon the ladder ready to be turned off, he delivered in writing to father Andrew Emanuel of the Society of Jesus , a declaration , the contents whereof ensueth word for word ;

Loyall subjects of our soveraigne Lord the King, I am *Michael de Molina* born at *Cuenca* , the grievousnes of my crimes is so great, that a punishment can hardly be invented to equalize mine offences against God, against our soveraigne Lord the King whom God preserve, against the Emperour, against my native country ; against the Lord Duke de *Olivarez*, and Sant *Lucar*, against the most grave, faithfull and loyall Ministers of state, whom I have discredited with my forgeries and lies. The clemency of the King our soveraigne (whom God preserve) hath been very eminent in sentencing me so mercifully,

God grant, to whom I now goe to render a strict account, that there be found mercy for me in the life to come, and that I then pay not for the clemency shewed me here. I do here declare and confesse upon mine own free will, that not having the feare of God nor man before mine eyes, I have been the cause of the gretest part of the mischeifes that this Monarchy suffereth, and of those calamities and miseryes which you faithfull people yet suffer, for which I humbly beg pardon of all those that are absent, as well as of you here present. For I am the man that feigned that the King our soveraigne Lord (whom God preserve) and the Emperour, instigated thereunto by the Lord Duke of Saint *Lucar*, and fomented by him, did plot the death of our most holy father *Urban* the 8th Pope, head of the Church, and vicar of Christ, for which purpose I invented and contrived orders of the King our soveraign, and of the Emperour, letters from the Duke, Orders, instructions and judge.

judgments of the Counsellours of State with letters from Vice Royes and Embassadours, with purpose to abuse and deceive the Nuntio and the Embassadours of severall Princes, and thereby to get money from them, not caring for the dammage might arise and accrue from thence to the world, and to this Monarchy ; and not contented here with, I invented that in case the said death could not be effected, that then endeavour should be to call a Councell, and to depose the Pope, or make a schisme in the Church. I invented and forged, that the Lord Duke did by order from the King, the Emperour and the Counsell of state, endeavour to kill the Cardinal *Richelieu*, Favorit to the most Christian King of *France* ; for which purpose, and for the death of the Pope, I feigned persons that were to have been instruments of the same; I gave notice to the Ambassadours hereof shewing them letters and Orders which I feigned as I judged meet. I made them believe that I was
an

an Officer of the Counsell of state, and that by that means I came to the knowledge of these plots and conspiracies, whereby I have disturbed the world, caused jealousyes and suspicions amongst all the Princes of *Europe*, and the mischeifs that this Monarchy now suffereth. I also advertised the Embassadors, and the enemies of this state, of letters, consults, orders and decrees made by the King and Counsell for driving the French out of *Piemont*, the Correspondencies of the Cardinal of *Savoy* with the subjects of that state for effectuating the same; the coming of Prince *Thomas* from *Flanders* to *Savoy* for the same purpose, and to lay siege to *Casal*, of an Army to be raysted and maintayned in *Alsatia*; of an intention to kill Duke *Bernard de Weimar* General of the *Swedes*, the intentions of the King our Sovereign, with the states of *Venice* and *Genoa* concerning *Piemont* and *Casal*; the purpose of supplies which both states of *Venice* and *Genoa* would send to *France* and *Holland*; and the

the intentions of the Pope to assist France against Spain; the intent of England to ligue with Spain; the purpose that the French and *Hollanders* had to joyn their fleets to hinder all succours of *Flanders*, and to surprize the plate fleet, and infect the coasts of Spain; the design that the Hollander had upon Antwerp in the year 1638. the successe of *Fon-tarabie*; whereupon I feigned letters from the Prince of *Conde*, and from the Duchesse de *Chevreuse*; also concerning the imprisonment of Don *Gualterio Peni* Secretary and Resident for France in this Court, with whom I had intimate friendship, which was the ground of all these disasters: of the secret compliance between the Cardinall *Infante*, and the Prince of *Orenge*: of the conspiracy by the Prince of *Orenge* to kill the Cardinall *Richelieu*; the design of *Holland*, that the States of *Flanders* should be independent of Spain, and our King should renounce his right to the Cardinall *Infanta* to the end the *Hollanders* should receive him, and sub-

subject themselves to him : of the capitulations and agreement twixt the King our Sov: and the Duke of *Modena*, whereby I feigned that the said Duke was to assist with six thousand men, at his own charge, against *France*; and that the King was to give him the charge of Viceroy of *Catalonia*, and twenty thousand souldiers to enter into *France* by *Catalonia* which was the first ground of the warr at *Salas* and *Perpignan* the key of *Catalonia*; of the general resolutions of the year 1639. in order to the affayres of *Germany*, *Flanders*, and *Italy*: of the purpose to take away the Nuntio's Court in these kingdomes for the disorders and excesses of the same : of the great resentments of the King our sovereign against the King of *France*, for his leagueing with the *Swedes*, his confederation with the *Turks* and *Protestant Princes* of *Germany*, for his protection and league with *Holland*; for his commerce with *Venice* and *Genoa* to the great discommodity of *Spain*; for the disunion which he endeavoured to make

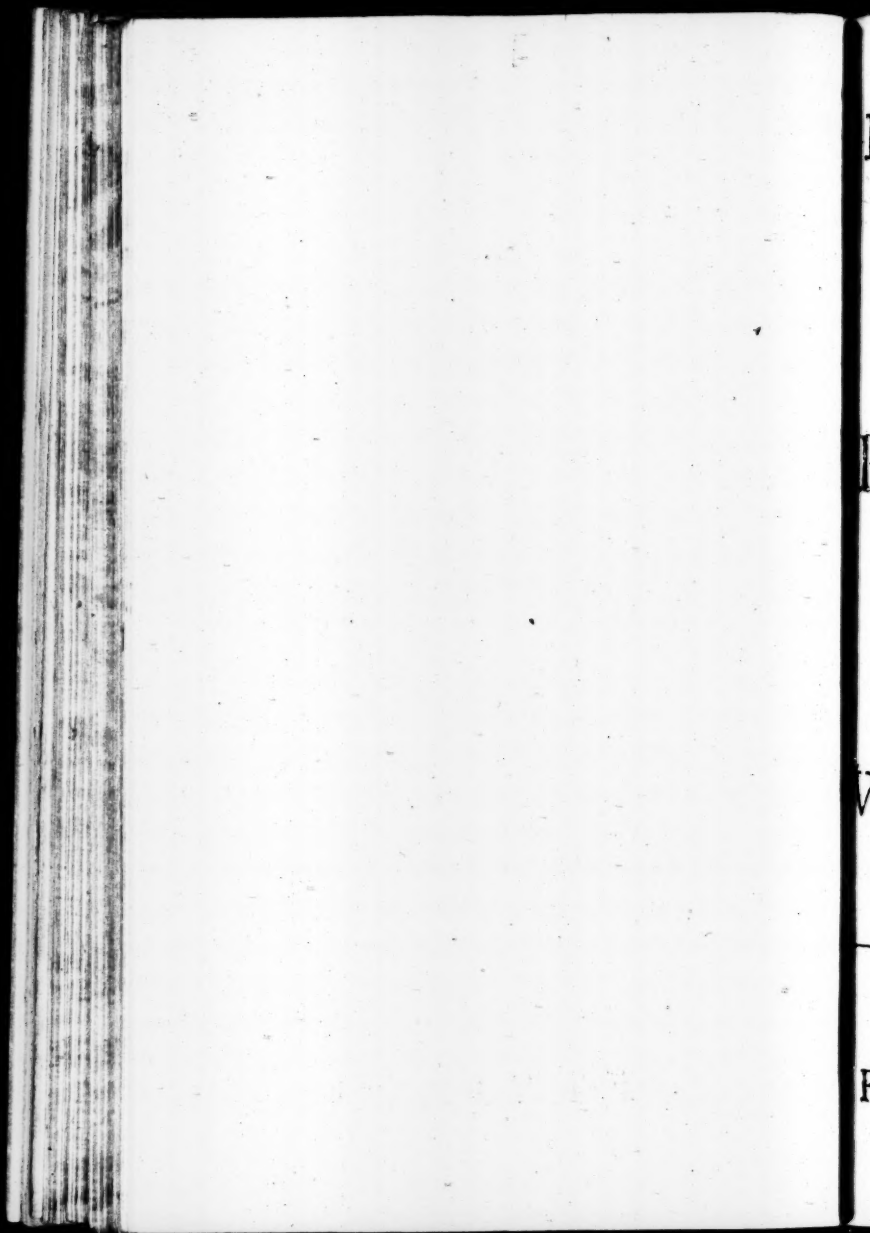
make between *Spain* and *England* : of the resentment that the King our Sovereign had against the Pope, for his amity and assisting of *France* ; and not his endeavouring rather as a father of the whole Church to pacify the warres by all meanes possible ; of the design of changeing the commanders in cheife of all the Emperours armies and the *Spanish*, thereby to make the people desperate, because of the failing of faith and credit ; of the recruiting and arming the Gallies of *Spain*, *Sicily* and *Naples* for the maintaining commerce, secret intelligence in *Toulon* and *Marseilles* : of the capitulation of the *Venetian* with the grand *Turke*, and the meanes whereby they drew the *Turke* to assent to their demands, and the little security the *Turke* had from them : all which I invented, feigned and contrived ; together with many more letters, Cyphers, Papers, &c. without any intelligence, correspondence, or amity with any officer or Minister of state of this kingdome, but that I alone without the
helpe

helpe or assistance of any other have
 feigned and invented all the foresaid
 designs, whereof I gave information to
 the Nuntio and his secretary, to the
 said Ambassadors, and to Monsiuer de
Peny with whom I have kept correspon-
 dence in *France* since the breaking forth
 of the warre : the which as a truth I
 sweare before God, and declare it for
 discharging my conscience; I aske of
 God forgiveness, also of the King our
 soveraign (whom God preserve) of
 the Emperour, of the Lord Duke, a-
 gainst whom I directed most of those
 forgeries, of the Duke of *Medina las*
Torres, of the Marques of *Leganés*, of the
 Duke of *Villabermosa*, of the Count of
Oniate, of the Marques of *Villa Franca*,
 of the Marques of *Mirabel*, of the most
 illustrious Lord Inquisitour Generall, the
 father Confessour of the most Eminent
 Cardinals, the Cardinal *Borgia*, and
 Cardinal *Spinola*, and Cardinal of *Sando-*
val, of the Lord Don *Geronimo* of *Villa-*
nueva, Pronotary of *Arragon* and secreta-
 ry of state, of Don *Andrew de Rojas* se-
 cretary

secretary of state, of the Ambassadour of
Genoa, and of all the rest whom I have
 falsely defamed by these forgeries and
 Impostures; and also I aske pardon of
 all the faithfull and loyall subjects of
 these kingdomes, charging them to
 take example by me. And to the end
 that it may be manifested to all times, I
 thus make declaration, that God may
 pardon me, and for the satisfaction of
 this, and all other Nations which I have
 disturbed with the wickednes of my in-
 ventions. In witnes whereof I have
 hereunto set my name, Dated in the
 Plaça Mayor, and place of Execution
 in Madrid, the 3 of August 1641.
 Thus ended *Michael de Molina*, in whom
 the *Refran* or Spanish proverbe was
 verified.

*Quien en un ano quiere ser rico al medio le
 ahorcan*, He that will be rich in one year,
 shall be hanged at halfe yeares end.

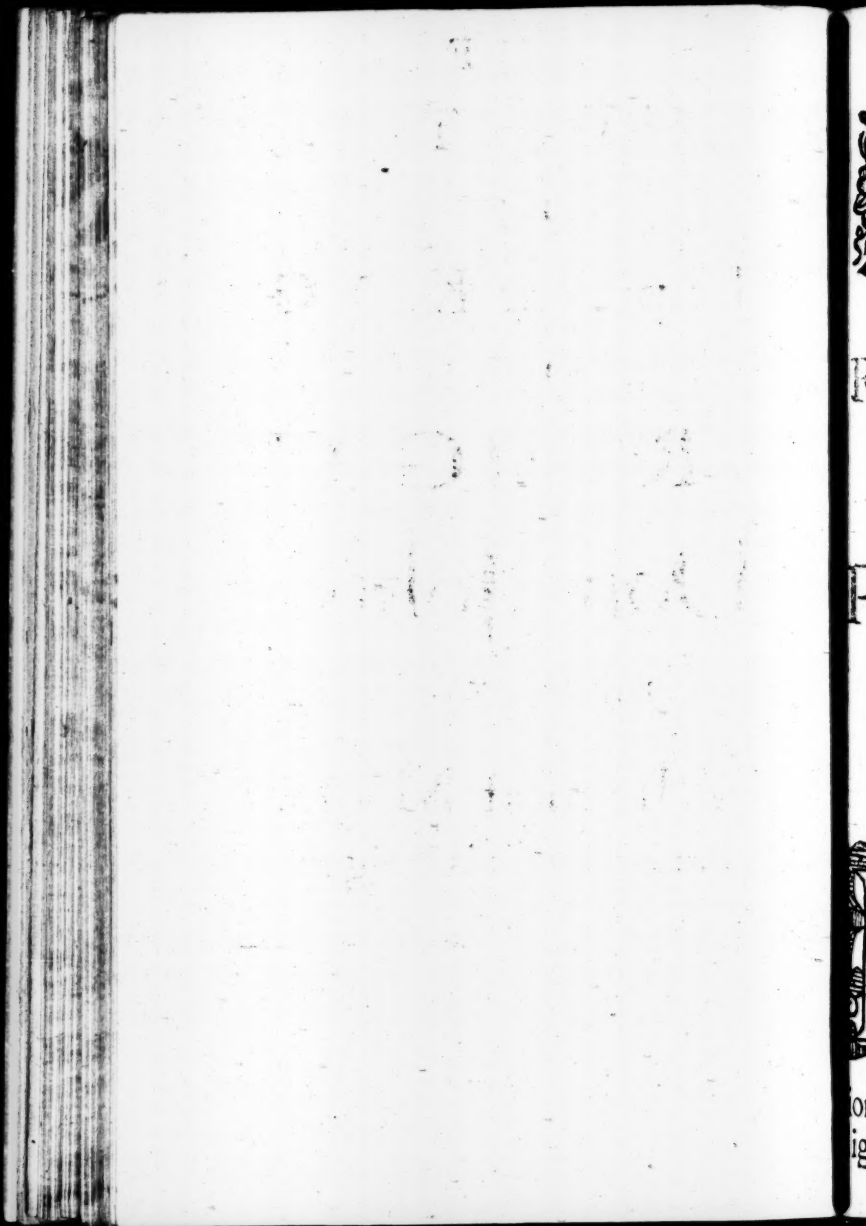
F I N I S.



THE
RIGHT & TITLE
OF
The present KING
OF
PORTUGAL:
Don John
the Fourth.

With the most Memorable
Passages of his Reigne.

LONDON,
Printed for *Tho. Heath*, 1653.





THE
RIGHT & TITLE
OF
The present King
OF
PORTUGALL

Don John the fourth :
With the most memorable
Passages of his raigne.



Or the more cleare discovery of the Title whereby the present King of *Portugal*, holds that Crown, it will be necessary to know the fundamental constitutions of that Kingdom, as well as the pedigree of that King.

In the year of our Redemption 1139. an Army of four hundred thousand Moors under the conduct of five Kings, threatening as a vast deluge, to overflow at once all the Country of *Portugal* were totally discomfited by a small handfull of Christians, in the plains of *Ourique*, where immediatly before the battel the people chose their Generall, *Don Alfonso* for their King: (for before they were under the protection of the King of *Castile & Leon*) who after the fight called an Assembly of the three Estates in the City of *Lamego*, where was solemnly enacted as followeth.

In the name of the most holy Trinity Father, Son, and holy Ghost, Amen.

I *Alphonso* sonn of *Count Henry* &c. by the grace of God lately advanced to the Royall Throne have called together the Bishops, Nobles and Deputies of Cities in the Church of *Saint Mary Almacave* in *Lamego*; where sitting upon my Royall Throne without any ensignes of Royalty my Deputy *Lorenzo Venegas* stood up and spake thus. You are assembled by the
 Author

Authority of King *Alfonso*, to see the Popes letters, and resolve to confirm him for your King, whereat all with one voice cried, We will that he be our King. The Deputy demanded, shall he only be King and not his sonns after him? They answered he, so long as he lives, and his sonns after his death, then said the Deputy give him the Royall ensignes: we give them, answered they, in the name of God: So the Archbishop of *Braga*, placed the Crown upon the Kings head; who drawing his sword said; *Blessed be God, that hath been my helper, with this sword have I delivered you and overcome our enemies, and now that you have made me your King, let us make lawes, for the government of the Kingdome*, they answered, so will wee tread soveraigne, we wil make such lawes as shall seem good to you, and wee and all our children and posterity are wholly at your command, we will first make lawes for the succession of the Crown as followeth.

God save King Alfonso let him be master of the Kingdome: and after him (that

there may be no trouble of choosing a King) let his sonn raigne, after him his grand child, and so from father to sonn in secula seculorum.

2 If during the fathers life the eldest sonn die, the next brother shall be King, and so forward.

3 If the King die without sonns having a brother, he shall succeed, but not his sonn after him unlesse the Parliament will have it so.

Then Lorenzo Venegas, the Kings Deputy, desired the States, to aske the King, if the daughters should enter into the Succession, of the Kingdome : after some debate thereon it was resolved. Because the daughters are of the Royall stock as well as the Sonns, they should succeed on this manner.

4 If the King have only Daughters, the eldest shall be Queen, after her father, upon condition that she be married to a native of the Kingdome, and that he be a Nobleman, who shall not take upon him the name of a King, untill he hath a sonn born : nor wear a crown on his head, nor take the right hand of his wife.

5 Lastly which most concernes the ensuing discourse it was thus enacted.

Sit ista Lex in sempiternum, quæd prima filia Regis accipiat maritum de Portugale, ut non veniat Regnum ad extraneos & si casaverit cum principe extraneo, non sit Regina, quia nunquam volumus nostrum Regnum ire for de Portugalensibus, qui nos sua fortitudine Reges fecerunt sine adjutorio alieno per suam fortitudinem & cum sanguine suo. That is,

Let it be a law for ever, that the Kings eldest daughter marry a native of Portugal, that so the Crown may never descend to strangers, and in case she should marry to a Prince that is a stranger, let her not be Queen for wee will never have our Kingdom, goe out of the race of the Portugals, who have made us Kings, by their own valour, without foreign assistance, by their own valour, and with the effusion of their own blood.

This law was put in execution after the death of *D. Fernando* the 9 King of that race, whose daughter, *Donna Beatrice*, being married out of Portugal to the King

of Castile: *D. John*, the first was excluded from succession, and a new election made; from which new election, (that we may hasten to our purpose) lineally descended, *D. Emanuel*, the fourteenth King of Portugal, who had six sons and two daughters in this following order.

1 The Prince *D. John*.

2 The Infanta *Dona Beatrice*, married to the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, by whom she had *Philip* the second.

3 The Infanta *Dona Beatrice*, married to *Emanuel* Duke of Savoy, by whom she had *Philip Duke* of Savoy.

4 The Infanta *D. Lewis* who left only, *Don Antonio* illegitimate.

5 The Infante *Don fernando* died without issue.

6 The Infante *D. Alfonso* Cardinal Archbishop of *Lisbon*, and Abbot of *Alcobaza* never married.

7 The Infante *D. Henry*, Cardinal and Archbishop of *Braga*.

8 The Infante *D. Edward*, who left two daughters, the eldest was *Mary*, married out of the Kingdom to *Alexander Farnese* Duke

Duke of *Parma*, the yonger was *Catherine* married in the Kingdome to *John* Duke of *Braganza*.

After the death of King *Emanuel* succeeded his eldest sonne *Don John*, called King *John* the third: whose only sonne, that had issue called Prince *John*, dieing before his father, left *D. Sebastian* who succeeding his Grandfather was slain before he was married, in that Signal battell in *Africa*; famous for the deaths of three Kings anno. 1578. where were unfortunately lost with their King, most of the Nobility, and Flower of Portugal; Upon the death of King *Sebastian*, the crown returned to the eldest survivour of his Granfathers brothers which was *D. Henry*, the Cardinal, whose function; (for he was a priest) rendred him as incapable of marrying as his age, (for he was 67. years old) rendred him unable for generation, so that during his raigne which lasted not two years, the chief discourses, and debates not only of *Portugal* but of all Christendome was: *who rightfully and who probably should succeed King Henry*. There were
some

some pretended right but wanted power, others had power, but wanted right, and there were some pretenders that had neither right nor power.

First, The People claymed *jure Regni*, to have the right to elect their own King.

Secondly, the Pope challenged *jure Divino*, to be the arbitratour, (if not donour) in all controversies for Crownes, and that *Alfonso*, the first King, to obtain the title of King, became Tributary to the sea of *Rome*.

Thirdly, *Don Antonio* illegitimate sonn to the Infant *D. Lewis*, pretended that his mother was lawfully wedded (as well as bedded) with his father.

Fourthly, *Catherine de Medicis* widow of *Henry the 2. King of France* as descended from the King of *Portugal D. Alfonso*, the 3. and for that all since that King have raigned unjustly.

Fifthly, *Philbert* Duke of *Savoy* sonne to *Beatrice*, younger daughter to *Emanuel*, would not lose a Crown for want of laying claym thereto, knowing that of all the pretenders that were not natives he was
looked

looked on as the fittest to resist King *Philip* not only for his personal valour but also for his dominions, bordering on the Dutchy of *Milan* which in case of need he might invade by the assistance of the *French*, his neighbours upon the other side.

7 *Reinuce* the yong Prince of *Parma* laid claim to this Crown in right of his Mother *Mary*, lately deceased; alleadging that *jure primogenitura* the male line was to be served before the female; so that untill the line of his Grandfather the Infante *D. Edward*, were wholly extinct, neither *Philip* the 2. nor the Duke of *Savoy* could have any right

Seventhly, *Catherine* Dutches of *Braganza*, pleaded that in all successions there are to be considered these four qualities, in the persons pretending; viz, the *line*, the *degree*, the *sex*, and the *Age*, that the better line is first to take place, although others should have advantage in the other three qualities. That in succession of Crowns the last possessor is to be succeeded *jure hereditatis* which allows the benefit

benefit of representation, that she representing the *Infante D. Edward*, the better line did by her representation, precede *Rainuce* (for the law allows not a Grandchild that benefit,) and by her better line exclude King *Philip* who descended from a daughter, lastly by the fundamental Lawes of the Kingdom, she was to be preferred before all other the pretenders, for that she was both born and married within the Kingdome.

Eighthly, *Philip* the 2. after all resolved that so faire a Crown, lyeing so conveniently for him should not escape him; yet (because force is of harder digestion) first to make triall of the most gentle meanes to effect his proposed ends, to this purpose, he employes the best wits of all the Vniversityes in Christendom to prove his, and disprove all other claymes.

After much bickering, it was alledged in favour of King *Philip*, first against the Prince of *Parma* and the Dutcheß of *Braganza*, that successions of Crowns were to be decided by the Law of Nations not of the Empire, upon which onely her

ius representandi patrem was grounded, that the neereſt male in degree to the laſt poſſeſſour, ought to ſucceed, that the *Infante D. Edw.* being deceased before his brother *Henry* was King, could have no right in himſelf, therefore could derive none to his poſterity; for *nemo dat quod in ſe non habet*: That it was very unreaſonable that *Catherine* ſhould be leſſe prejudiced in her ſelf for her ſex, then King *Philip* ſhould be in his Mother.

Next, it was alledged againſt the Queen of *France*, that preſcription of above 300 years (whereas Lawyers allow 100 years a ſufficient Title for any Kingdome) lay moſt evidently againſt her.

Againſt the people it was answered, That untill the Royall Line of a Kingdome be quite extinct, there can be no right of election in them.

But the main Argument whereby King *Philip* confuted theſe and all other pretenders, was his ſword, wherewith like another *Alexander*, he cut that Gordian knot; wherefore not to loſe time nor opportunity, whiſt the Univerſity invented
the

the most powerful Arguments, he made all preparations possible for a powerful Army to be ready, in the mean time wrought so effectually with Father *Leon Henriques*, a Jesuit, and Confessor to King *Henry*, and Frier *Ferdinando Castillo* a Dominican, that all intentions prejudicial to King *Philips* designs were craftily diverted, as from declaring the Dutcheſs of *Braganza* next heir, whereunto King *Henry* was most inclinable; also from marrying in hopes of issue, whereto he was once so farre perswaded, as to endeavour a dispensation from *Rome*; but his hopes and intentions were soon after cut off by death: the newes whereof arriving to King *Philip*, he marched away immediatly with an Army of above twenty thousand old Souldiers towards *Lisbon*, where he found no other resistance but *Don Antonio*, one of the forementioned pretenders in the head of a popular tumult, rather then a regular Army, which being soon discomfited, and the suburbs of *Lisbon* sacked, to gratifie the Souldiers, he easily made himself Master of the whole

whole kingdome: But before this could be brought about, Pope *Gregory* the 13 had sent Cardinal *Riaris* Legat into *Spain*, with order to dissuade the Catholique King from raising Arms, and so to passe into *Portugall*, there to arbitrate the right between all pretenders. *Philip* to avoid this, and yet to approve himselfe (as he always profest) a most obedient son of the Church, he gave secret order in all places where the Legat was to passe, that he should be entertained with all respect and magnificence possible, and thereby be so dexterously detained, that the kingdom might be possessed by him before the Legat could arrive at Court, which was acted accordingly, and the Legat well satisfied in his entertainment, though not in his negotiation.

When the Nobility and people of *Portugall* saw themselves thus unawares yoked by the *Castilians* against whom above all other there was ever a certain antipathy of nature, they were exceedingly discontented, but seeing there was no hope to withstand so great a Potentate as *Philip*

lip the second , reputed at that time not onely the most prudent (or rather crafty subtile man) but the most puissant Monarch that later ages have produced, they all submitted to the King , who the better to win them, condescended to meet that submission , and be sworn in an *Assembly of Estates*, to these capitulations following ,

1. *That his Majesty should observe all Lawes, Liberties, Priviledges and Customes granted to the people by former Kings of Portugall.*

2. *That the Vice King, or Governor, shall always be the Son , Brother, Uncle, or Nephew of the King, or else a Native of Portugall.*

3. *That all chiefe Offices of the Church or State shall be bestowed upon the Natives of Portugal, and not upon strangers. Likewise the Governments of all Townes and Places.*

That all Countries now belonging to Portugall, shall so continue to the commodity and benefit of that Nation.

5. *That the Portugall Nation shall be admitted*

admitted to all Offices in the Kings House, as well as the Castilians.

6. *That because the King cannot conveniently be always in Portugal, he shall send the Prince to be bred up amongst them.*

At the end of these Articles was adjoyned a blessing to those Kings that should observe them, and a curse to those that should violate them; adding moreover, *That in case (which God forbid) that his Majesty which now is, or his Successors, should not observe this agreement, or should procure a dispensation for this Oath, the three States of the Kingdom might freely deny subjection and obedience to the King, without being guilty either of perjury or treason.*

This clause, although it was not printed with the Capitulation made in the first Assembly of Estates, yet is rehearsed by divers Authors, amongst others by the Author *della Legge Regia di Portogallo stampata in Madrid.*

After this accord, the Cardinal *Albert*, Archduke of *Austria*, son to the Empeour, and nephew to King *Philip*, was placed as Vice-king of *Portugal*, yet durst

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not

not his Majesty leave the Kingdome so soon; for he perceived a general discontent to continue amongst them, insomuch that the Preachers would ordinarily in their Sermons vent speeches clearly tending to sedition, which made the King oft complain, that the Portugal Preachers had waged the hardest warre with him; but yet that he looked upon them as crack't brain'd, adding sometimes with much mildness and patience, *Pues dexaldos por que usan'a los privilegios que han los locos.* Once Father Lewis Alvarez a Jesuit preaching before the King on St. Philips day, (about the time that it was argued by some Lawyers, that the Dutcheſs of Bragança in the ſucceſſion of this Crown, did fully repreſent her Father) turned towards his Majesty ſaying (as it runs in the Goſpel for that day) *Philippe, qui videt me, videt patrem meum*, making a diſcourſe thereon in favour of the Dutcheſſe Title; whereat the King not ſeeming to be moved at all, keeping his wonted gravity, ſaid, If the Pope, who had Chriſtned this Father another Saint Paul.

Paul (for so he was esteemed) had known him better, he would have stiled him rather a *Spirituell mad-man*. Another time the same Father preaching before the Arch-duke, took his Text, *Surge, tolle grabatum tuum, & ambula*, turning to the Duke, said, Sir, the meaning hereof is, *Arise up, take up your pack, and be gone home*. Moreover in the Chappel of the Duke of Braganza, they were wont to sing the Lamentations of *Jeremy* (wherein the Prophet represents the oppression and scorn which the Israelites suffered while they were without a King of their own) applying all to themselves and the Castilians, as *Aquam nostram pecunia bibimus*, because of the Excise upon their Drink, and most other necessities imposed by King Philip; and *Servi dominati sunt in nos*. And again, *Cecidit Corona capitis nostri*, alwayes ending with *Recordare Domine quid acciderit nobis: Intuere & respice opprobrium nostrum; Hereditas nostra versa est ad alienos*.

In the mean time some comforted themselves with expectations of a change

by the return of D. *Sebastian* whom they would not yet believe to be dead; others believing that he was indeed killed in the battell of *Africa*, yet that he should be restored miraculously. Some gave great credit to old Prophecies, especially to that of an Hermit to King *Alfonso* the first, that he should overcome the *Moors* with their five Kings, and that in the sixteenth Generation his line should fail for a time, but that then God should have compassion on them. And to a letter of St. *Bernard* wrote to the same King *Alfonso*, the originall whereof was by the last King of *France* given to the Ambassadour of *Portugall*, 1641. the tenor of it was, that he rendred thanks for the lands bestowed upon him to build a Monastery, that in recompence thereof God bad him declare unto him, that there should not fail a native of *Portugal* to sit upon that Throne, unlesse for the greatness of their sins God would chastise them for a time: but that this time of chastisement should not last 60 years. Other Prophecies there were of one St *Gil* a *Dominican*, and *Simon*
Gomez

Gomez, both living and reputed for Saints. But whilst the people busied their heads with these expectations, King *Philip* proceeded *sensim sine sensu* to establish and confirm his right and power over the kingdom, and to break those shackles of Sovereignty wherewith he was fettered, whose footsteps his son King *Philip* the third followed exactly, though not with that craft and dissimulation as his Father had done; yet during their reigns it must be acknowledged that of many Articles some were observed; but as soon as *Philip* the fourth at present King of *Spain*, was warm in his Throne, it was resolved by the Count *de Olivarez*, Duke of Saint *Lucar*, that the best way to continue that Nation in subjection and peace, was to abolish all their priviledges, which were but so many encouragements to oppose the Kings designs; in pursuance whereof the Dutchess of *Mantua* was made Governor of *Portugal*, although she was neither Daughter, Sister, Aunt or Neece to the King; the great Offices were bestowed upon *Castilians*, *Italians*, and other For-

reigners; pensions out of the Bishopricks, and other Ecclesiastical promotions, were also given to strangers; the governments of Castles and Towns were put into the hands of *Castilians*: new Impositions were laid upon the people, the Revenues of the kingdom were employed for the use of the Court at *Madrid*, &c.

And that this design of *Olivarez* might be no way hindred, the Nobility, and ablest men of the Kingdom were drawn forth some to Court, some to employments in Warre, and some to prisons, where they were destined to slaughter, as appeared by a Letter written from *Madrid* to *Vasconcellos* his Agent at *Lisbon*, where he saith, *por los cuernos de los Fidalgos que ya estan aqui, bien puede V. M. rezar un pater noster por sus almas; mas por aquellos, que no han querido venir, me recomiendo.* As for those rascally Gentlemen of *Portugal* which are here already, you may bid God have mercy on their souls; but commend me to those that would not come. But this hard dealing with the Nobility already called forth of
the

forth of the kingdom, and the calling for more gave the first occasion to some of the Noblemen to assemble together where they resolve *Not only to stay at home, but to have a King at home*; whereupon the Duke of *Braganza*, Grandchild of the fore-mentioned *Katherine*, by the name of *Don John* the Fourth now reigning, was advanced to the Crown, as is at large related in the life of *Olivarez*, and therefore needs not here to be repeated: Only hereunto shall be annexed the most memorable passages that have happened since he came to the Crown.

The Kingdom of *Portugall* having been possessed by three Kings of *Spaine*, successively from the yeare 1580. untill the year 1640. not full sixty years, according to the prophecy of *St Bernard*; for before *Philip* the second was received and sworn their King, it was *April, 1581*. whereas the present king of *Portugall*, *Don John* the fourth was proclaimed on the first of *December*, 1640. being then at *Villaviciosa* his Country-house; upon the fifth of the same Month, without any
pomp

pomp or guard, he entred into *Lisbon*, yet with so great security, as if he had been guarded with a most invincible Army; whereupon he said, *That to be King and Sovereign of the Portugall Nation, there was no need off any other Guard or Armes then the hearts of the people.* So soon as it was known in *Lisbon* that the King was arrived, the concourse of People was so great before the Palace, and the joy so extreme, that for a time they seemed to be transported out of themselves, some leaping, others dancing, some kissing the Kings hand, others throwing themselves down at his Foot; all shouting and crying, *Viva viva el Rey Dom Joam el quarto nosso Senhor*; God save the king D. *John* the fourth, our Sovereigne Lord. That Evening all the Cannons were discharged, and so many Fireworks and Lights, that the Night was turned into Day, whereat a Spanish Gentleman said, *Es possible que se quite un Reyno a el Rey D Felipe con solas Luminarias y vivas sin mas exercito in poder. Gran senal y efeto sin duda del brazo de Dios todo poderoso.* Is it possible that
king

king *Philip* should be deprived of a whole kingdome with only Lights and Fire-works without a powerfull Army. Certainly this is an evident token of the Almightyes power.

Upon the fifteenth following was the King solemnly crowned, in the great place before his Palace, upon a Theater, wheron was raised a great Scaffold, and upon that a lesser, whereon was placed three steps higher a Chaire of State under a Canopy all covered over with cloth of Gold; about Midday came forth his Majesty in a Suit of Chesnut coloured Velvet embroidered with Gold and Buttons of Diamonds; about his Neck a Collar of great value, whereunto hung the habit of the chief order of Knighthood, called, *El Orden de Christo*; He was girded with a gilt Sword; his Robe was cloth of Gold lined with White, wrought with Gold flowers; his Train was born up by the Lord Chamberlain *D. John Roderiguez*; before his Majesty was the Sword borne by *D. Francis de Mello* Marquis of *Ferreira* high Constable of the kingdome; and

and before him the kings Banner display-
ed by *Fernando Telles de Meneses* as knight
Marshall; and before him the Marquis of
Gouvea D. Manrique de Sylva Steward of
the kings House, with all the Grandees,
Nobility and Gentry; before all went *Portu-
gall* king at Arms, with the Heralds, Pur-
servants, &c.

His Majesty being sate in his Chaire
with a Crystall Scepter in his right Hand,
whereon stood the high Constable, and
behind the Chair the Lord Chamberlain:
There was placed before him a Table co-
vered with cloth of Gold, with a Cushion
thereon, and upon the cushion a Cross of
Gold with a Missall; then the Archbi-
shops of *Lisbon* and *Braga*, with the In-
quisitor-Generall, kneeling down upon a
Cushion, made his Oath to the kingdome
as followeth:

WE swear and promise by
the grace of God, to Rule
and Govern you well and justly, and
to administer unto you Justice as far

as Humane frailty will permit ; to maintain unto you your Customes, Priviledges, and Liberties granted unto you by the Kings our Predecessors. So God help Us, and this his holy Gospel.

After this taken by the King, the three Estates, Clergy, Nobility and Commons swore Allegiance to his Majesty in these words ; One for every Estate said :

I *Swear by this holy Gospell of God toucht corporally with my Hand, that I receive for our King and lawfull Sovereign, the High and Mighty King Don John the Fourth our Sovereigne, and doe Homage unto him according to the use and custome of his Kingdome.*

This Ceremony being past, *Francis de Lu-*

Lucena, Secretary of State, standing in the middle of the Scaffold, with a lowd voyce declared, That his Majesty accepted the Oath and Homage which they had made. Then the King at Arms having cried *O ye* thrice, *Ferdinando Telles de Meneses*, knight Marshal, with a lowd voyce said, *Royal, Royal, Royal, for the high and mighty Lord King John the fourth our Sovereigne*; and the Heralds with all the people ecchoed, *Royal, Royal, Royal*: Then all the Drummes, Trumpets and Fifes sounding, his Majesty came off the Theater, and mounting on Horseback, rode under a most rich Cloth of State towards the great Church, with all his Grandees and Nobles before him bare headed on foot. By the way in a great open place were presented unto the King, together with an eloquent Harangue, the keyes of the Citie; which being returned, his Majesty rode forward with incredible acclamations and applause, the Ladies out of the Windowes throwing down Flowers and sweet Waters upon their heads with a thousand benedictions,

&c.

&c. In this pomp his Majesty was received at the Cathedral Church by the Archbishop in his *Pontificalibus*; whence (his devotions being ended) he returned to his Palace with the like solemn magnificence.

The kingdome of *Portugall* being thus established, care was taken to give timely notice hereof to all places under their subjection in all parts of the world, so that not long after the King was with unexpressible joy proclaimed in the Island *Madera*, in *Porto Santo*, in *Maçagan* and *Aer* upon the coast of *Africa*, in the Island of *St Michael*, in the kingdome of *Angola*, in the *Tercera* Islands, (although the Governor there made some resistance at first) in *Brafile*, in all the *East Indies*, and as far as *China*.

On the 8 of *January* following, with the like pompous solemnity the three Estates took an oath to the Prince in these words: *We acknowledge and receive for our true and Naturall Prince, the high and excellent Prince D. Theodosio, Son, Heir, and successor of our sovereign Lord the*
King

King, and as his true and naturall subjects and vassals, we doe him homage in the hands of the King ; and after the death of our soveraign Lord the King, we will acknowledge and receive him for our true and naturall King and Sovereign of those kingdomes of Portugal and Algarbe, and beyond sea in Africa, Lord of Guine, of the Conquests, Navigations, and Commerce in Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, India, &c. we will obey his Commands and Decrees in all and through all both high and low, we will make war and maintain peace with all those that his Highness shal command us. And all this we swear to God upon the holy Crosse, and the holy Gospel.

Next day the King being placed on his Royal Throne, there was an Assembly of the three estates in their rich Robes, where D. Emanuel de Acugna, Bishop of *Elvas*, made a most eloquent speech, the substance whereof was, That one of the first Laws of Nature was, the uniting of men together, from whence Cities and kingdomes had their original, and by which they after defended themselves in warres,

warres, and maintained themselves in
 peace; that for this cause his Majesty had
 called this Assembly to consult for the
 better service of God, defence in warre,
 and government in peace, that there could
 be no service of God without union in
 Religion, no defence without union a-
 mongst Men, no Regular government
 without union of Councils: That his
 Majesty did expect to be informed by his
 loyal subjects, what was for the good of
 the State; That they were to render
 thanks to the Almighty, who had given
 them a King that would govern by the
 known Laws: That his Majesty did not
 esteem those Tributes lawful that were
 paid with tears, and therefore did from
 this present take off from his subjects all
 tribute, that ever have been imposed by
 the kings of *Castile*; because his Majesty
 will not reign over our goods, nor over
 our heads, nor over our priviledges, but
 over our hearts, hoping that you will
 find out a more sweet expedient to defend
 your Countrey against your potent ene-
 my, who threatneth to make us all slaves,
 and

and to destroy and annihilate our Nation. Let us therefore considering his Majesties goodnesse, and our own honour, manifest at once unto the whole world, that *as never subjects had such a gracious king, so never king had such loyal subjects.*

Then standing up the most ancient officer of the Chamber of *Lisbon*, in the name of the three Estates (who all stood up likewise) returned humble thanks to his Majesty for his gracious bounty, professing withall, that they did not onely offer up their goods, but consecrate their lives to his Majesties service, that his Majesty might freely dispose of the one and the other to his service, according to his pleasure, &c.

In pursuance whereof they voted, that two millions should be presently levied by the kingdome; but his Majesty not being willing that any money should be imposed upon the subject as a tax, all men strove who should advance most freely, so that in few dayes there were brought in 4 millions of gold, not to pay souldiers (for all offered their service to pursue the war gratis

gratis at their own charges) but to maintain the splendor of the King and Kingdom.

The next resolution of this Assembly was to dispatch Ambassadors to all States of Christendom to enter into confederations for the better establishment of the Kingdom, and reputation of the King.

In the first place his Majesty considering how much it did import to correspond with *Catalonia*, that so they might joyntly not only defend themselves, but also molest *Castile*, which being as it were between the two arms of *Portugal* and *Catalonia*, must needs be easily incommo-
dated by them both at Sea and Land; thither was sent Ambassador Father *Ignatius Mascarenas* a Jesuit, with another Father of the same Order, to offer them all assistance and supplies for their maintenance and defence against the Catholick King, which Ambassy did so incredibly rejoyce and encourage the *Catalonians*, that the very next day they obtained a most signal victory by couragiously defending themselves against the *Spanish*
I Army

Army of 25000. men under the conduct of the Marquis *de los Veles*.

The next was a most solemn Ambassage to the most Christian King *Lewis* 13. for which high employment were chosen two personages of great worth, *D. Francisco de Mello* and *D. Antonio Coello de Caravallio*, the one for his exquisite judgment and experience in State affairs, and the other for his noble spirit and eminent knowledg in the Civil Law, most fit to undertake so important a charge. These two personages attended with a magnificent train landed at *Rochel*, and upon the 15 of *March* made a most solemn entrance into *Paris*, being met and conducted by 134. Coaches, besides much Nobility on Horseback unto the Palace appointed for Extraordinary Ambassadors, where they were entertained in a sumptuous manner at the Kings charges, from thence were they carried by the Duke of *Cheurense* and the Count of *Brulon* in the Kings Coaches unto his Majesty then at *St Germain*s to receive their first Audience, which was performed with extraordinary respect, for upon

upon the Ambassadors entrance into the
 presence chamber his Majesty rose out of
 his Chair and came forward three steps
 to receive them, nor would the King suffer
 them to deliver their Ambassy vncovered,
 or to kiss his hand at their departure, but
 instead thereof embraced them in his
 arms with a chearfull countenance, pro-
 mising them all the assistance that lay in
 his power: From the Kings presence they
 were conducted to a Dinner provided for
 them, and after that to the Lodgings of
 the Queen, who sitting in a chair without
 armes rose up, and coming forward two
 or three steps received them most courte-
 ously, not permitting them to speak untill
 they were covered: Amongst other dis-
 course, *D. Francisco de Mello* told her
 Majesty, that he feared his Embassy would
 not be acceptable, for that his Master
 had deprived her brother of one of his
 Kingdoms, whereto her Majesty replyd,
 that *although she was sister to the King of*
Spain, yet she was wife to the King of
France, and thereupon began to speak
 spanish, which the Ambassador obser-
 ving,

ving, demanded wherefore her Majesty had not vouchsafed them that favour sooner, it being a language better understood by them? the Queen answered, for fear they should be daunted to hear her speak Spanish; the Ambassador to improve the jest replyd, *Como a tam grande Senora, si, pero como a Castellana*, no. It was true considering her greatness, but not her Countrey, whereat her Majesty smiling went on promising them all favour, and wishing many happy dayes to King *Fohn* and the Prince his son: thus having delivered to her Majesty a Letter from the Queen of *Portugal*, they took leave to go visit the most Eminent Cardinal *Richelieu*, who being advertised of their coming, came forward to the third chamber to meet them, and there received them with expressions of great affection, after which he conducted them into his own Chamber, where all three being fate his Eminence (a personage for his most admirable abilities worthy to live many ages) discovered divers affairs of importance to the Ambassadors, and they of

the other side made his Eminence understand how highly it imported that the two Crowns of *France* and *Portugal* should be united by an indissoluble league and amity, considering that the primary and principal aim of the house of *Austria* (whose branches were spread over *Europe*) was not only to be the greatest, but the only Monarch of Christendom, for which end it never made scruple to usurp Kingdoms and States upon the weakest pretences imaginable, as have appeared in the Kingdoms of *Naples*, *Sicily* and *Navarre*, the Dutchy of *Milan*, and several other States more lately in *Germany*, the seizing upon the *Valtelline*, that so (being Master of that passage) he may upon any opportunity lead an Army of high *Germans* into *Italy*: Moreover considering the vast power and interest this Family hath, not only in all the other States of *Italy* and *Germany*, and in the Low Countries, but also in almost all *America*; it must be confessed that they have a large foundation of their imaginary universal Monarchy, yet no one thing gave them

so great hopes as the possession of *Portu-
gal*: First because by the addition of that
 Kingdom, they became absolute Masters
 not only of all *Spain*, but of all the *East
Indies*, of all the Eastern Trade, of *Ethi-
opia*, *Persia*, *Arabia*, *China*, *Iapan*, and
 all that incredible wealth that was raised
 out of the *Portugal* Traffique, whereby
 the Austrian greatness (if not their Mo-
 narchy) was principally sustained, there-
 fore that it much concerned all States to
 endeavour not only to put a stop to the
 growth of that monstrous tree, but to cut
 off some arms thereof that it may the less
 damnify and annoy the lesser trees that
 grow by it: that to do this none was
 more concerned or more able then the
 Kingdom of *France* united with the
 Kingdom of *Portugal*, which having bin
 reputed the right arm (as *Catalonia* was
 the left) of that huge *Austrian Colossus*,
 and now separated from it and joyned
 with *France*, will be able to do as great
 service against it, as ever it hath been for-
 ced to do for it, not only by assaulting
 the *Spaniard* at home in his own house,
 but

but by intercepting the Plate-Fleet which
 coming from the *West Indies*, must neces-
 sarily pass by the gates of their Enemies
 (the *Tercera Islands*) and so run a hazard
 to be lost, or else be at the charges of an
 extraordinary Convoy. Having thus
 discoursed with his Eminence of those and
 other weighty affairs, he was pleased to
 offer not only all the assistance of the most
 Christian King, but that he would dis-
 burse of his own for the Service of *Por-
 tugal*, that he would presently send thi-
 ther a Fleet of twenty Sail with his Ne-
 phews Admiral and Ambassador extra-
 ordinary: whereupon the Ambassadors
 taking leave, they were accompanied by
 his Eminence as far as the stairs, which
 the Ambassadors endeavouring to hinder,
 the Cardinal told them that the Amba-
 sadors of *Portugal* were to be treated with
 no less respect then those of the Emperor
 or Pope. Some few days after in the
 house of the Grand Chancellour, there
 was appointed a Junta of the Ambassa-
 dors with his Majesties Commissioners,
 together with the Secretary *Chavigny*,
 where

where was soon concluded a peace and league between the Crown of *France* and *Portugal*, and the Ambassadors with much courtesie and satisfaction dismissed.

It very much concerned the kingdome of *Portugall* to maintain amity and peace with the Crown of *England*, not only for the Navigation and Commerce of both States, but also for other particular ends in the present conjuncture of affairs, principally to break the good correspondency that was at present maintained between the Crowns of *Spain* and *England*: For this purpose in *March* 1641. were dispatcht for *England* Don Antonio de Almadá, and D^r Francisco de Andrada Leiton, personages of great abilities, who arriving safe (in spite of the *Dunkerkers* that chased them) in *England*, were received with demonstrations of great courtesie (notwithstanding the earnest labouring of the *Spanish Resident* to the contrary.) It is true, that his Majesty of *England* was so tender of his honour and conscience, that he answered D^r Antonio de Sosa, Secretary to the Ambassadors sent before to make way,

way, that he would be first satisfied by what right and title his Master was made King of *Portugal*, before he would accept of the Ambassage. Whereupon the Secretary (being one of the most exquisite wits of this age) in the space of twenty four hours, drew up and presented to his Majesty a writing, which declared at large what here in substance ensueth.

Upon the death of King Henry the Cardinall without issue, many pretended (together with the Infanta Donna Catherine, Dutcheſs of Braganza, and Grandmother to this present King) to the Crown of Portugal, but all their pretences wanting foundation, soon fell, except that of Philip the second, King of Spain, who propt up his with force.

King Henry was Uncle, equally neer to both, but with this difference, Catherine was the daughter of a son named Edward, and Philip was sonne of a daughter named Isabella, brother and sister to King Henry.

King Philip pleaded, that he being in equall degree with Catherine, was to be preferred for his sex.

Catherine

Catherine replied, *That the constitution of that kingdom allowing females to succeed; and withall, the benefit of representation in all Inheritances, she representing Edward must exclude Philip by the very same right that her Father (if he were living) would exclude Philips mother.*

This conclusion is infallible in jure, where-to Philip answered, That succession of kingdoms descending jure sanguinis, there was allowed no representation.

Catherine destroyed that foundation, alleging, That the succession by the death of the last King, was derived jure hæreditario, & non sanguinis, because the succession of Kingdomes was to be regulated by that ancient way whereby all things descended by inheritance. The other way of succession being not known until later Ages, nor ever practised either in Spain or Portugal in such cases.

Briefly, in behalf of Catherine it was urged (which by the Castilians can never be denied or answered) that she was no stranger, but a Native of the kingdom, to whom alone (according to the Laws of Lamego) the Crown

Crown of Portugal can appertain.

This is the simple Title of the House of *Braganza*, against which the *Castilians* have forged a thousand Titles for the House of *Austria*, as being the tenth or twentieth Grandchild of such a King, or such a Prince, &c. which if sufficient Title against the next allies, certainly the King of *Castile* is not onely King of *Portugal*, but all *Europe* (for there is scarce a Prince from whom he is not descended) and happily this is the ground whereon he builds his hopes to be universal Monarch, unless perchance he may esteem himselfe so by *Will* from *Adam*, as some have imagined.

When the King had received and deliberated upon the writing, he gave order that they should be conducted to *London* with all solemnity convenient, & disposed of in a Palace ready prepared for them; after which with great ceremony they received audience of his Majesty in a most stately fair Hall, where his Majesty was placed on a Throne raised two steps, on each side Lattices, within which stood his Nobles;

Nobles; at the Ambassadors entrance, as they made their reverence, the King uncovered himself and would not be covered untill the Ambassadors were so too: To the Proposals made by *Don Antonio de Almla*, the King answered he should be very glad to find out a way to be friend to the King of *Portugal*, and to renew the ancient amity of the two Crowns without breaking with *Spain*.

Some days following the Ambassadors went to visit the Queen, who being placed under a cloath of State (upon the entrance of the Ambassadors) rose up and came forward down as farr as the Carpet extended, making a low reverence at all three times, that the Ambassadors bowed, and being come neerer, her Majesty made them be covered; then uncovering themselves again, they spake with their hats in their hands; which ended, the Queen told them, that she much desired to keep strait amity with her Majesty the Queen of *Portugall*, &c.

Don Alonso de Cardenas, Ambassador Ordinary in the Court of *England* for the King

King of *Spain*, laboured still by friends, by moneys, by promises even to to the restitution of the Palatinate, so that the peace might not be made with *Portugal*, but in vain; for upon the 13 of *June* 1641 the peace was concluded.

The Commerce and correspondence that have always been between the kingdom of *Portugal* and *Denmark*, induced King *Fohn* to send Ambassadors thither; but the greater correspondence with the House of *Austria*, and some dependence upon the Emperour, hindred the reception of that Ambassage,; yet the King, and all the principal of the kingdom, desiring not to break with *Portugal*, gave all other satisfaction possible by extraordinary courtesies and respect to the Ambassadors, who from thence went into *Swethland*, where they were received with much solemnity and rejoycing by the whole kingdome. Their reception at the young Queens Court at *Stockholm*, was very magnificent, where a league was soon concluded, and the Ambassadors dismissed (as the manner is there) with chains of Gold,

Gold, and her Majesties portrait in a Medall of Gold. With the like readines did the States of the *Low-Countries* receive the Ambassage brought thither by that worthy personage, *Tristano de Mendoza Hurtada*, and a Truce of ten years made with Portugal; not a peace because the *Hollander* having conquered many places in *Brasil, Angola, &c.* whilst those countries were under the King of *Spain*, that neither side might be prejudiced, the King of *Portugal* would not approve of the conquests, because they were places depending on the Crown of *Portugal*; nor could the States promise restitution, because they now belonged to their *West Indy Company*, who since have often violated the Articles of this Truce, to the great dishonor of the States, to whom (so long as they neglect to punish the transgressors of their own Capitulations) no State will treat or trust for the future, seeing them so shamefully break their word without the least occasion given.

It was long debated in the Court of *Portugal*, whether, an Ambassage should
be

be sent to his Holiness at *Rome*, or else a more opportune conjuncture of time expected. Some were of opinion that an Ambassage was to be sent thither without further delay, because thereby they clearly testifying their duty and respect to his Holiness, as he was Head of the Catholick Church, *Portugal* should gain his good favour, and an acknowledgement that his Majesty *Don John* was rightfull King of Portugall, which would be of very much importance to the affairs of the Kingdom.

But these considerations seemed to others rather things desirable then feasible. First, because the King of *Spain* was at present powerful at *Rome* to oppose the reception of their Ambassador. Secondly, because the Pope, although he was never in heart a Spaniard, yet he would never yeeld to shew himselfe an enemy to the Catholick King. Moreover, the Spaniard cunningly fomenting the opinion which all the world had entertained, That his Holiness did in all things incline to the French interest, would from such a reception

tion draw as much as they could ever ask or desire; for this cause the Pope (that he might not seem their enemy) alwayes granted them what ever they demanded: Therefore it was alledged, That it would be better first to sound the mind and inclinations of his Holiness, then to run the hazard of some disgrace and afront to his Majesty and the whole Nation. And in case the Pope should resolve not to receive the Ambassage, to whom could they appeal for the injury done to the Crown? We see many Popes so bewitched with the interest of their own families, as to give occasion to the world to believe, that their aim is not what is absolutly the best, but what is best for themselves. An example hereof we have in Pope *Gregory* the thirteenth, so affectionate to the kingdom of Portugal at first, that he imployed the utmost of his power to hinder King *Philip* the second from usurping it; yet shortly after, for the interest of his own family, approved all that was done by the same King. Who hath more to give, or at least to promise, then the Catholick King? There.

Therefore in any business of competition, he must necessarily have the advantage against all others.

Nevertheless the *French* promising their assistance at *Rome*, and their intercession with his holiness, it was at length resolved by the major part, that an Ambassage should be speedily sent to *Rome*.

His Majesty hereupon made choyce of *D. Michael de Portogallo*, son to Count *Vimioso* of the blood Royall, Bishop of *Lamego*, and *Pantableone Rodrigue* Bishop of *Elvas*, personages of abilities suitable to so high an employment. Upon the newes of their landing in *Italy*, the *Spaniards* in *Rome* on the one side, provided to oppose their entrance, at least hinder their reception; the *French*, *Portugals* and *Catalonians* on the other side, resolved to venture their lives in the Cause: His Holiness fearing a petty war should be kindled in his own bosome, and the dishonor that would accrue to him in case that the person of an Ambassador should be violated as it were in his own house, gave order to all his Officers & Guards to prevent all intended

tended violences. Whereupon the *Spaniard* openly protested, that if his Holiness received the *Portugal* Ambassador, they with their Ambassadors, would immediately leave *Rome*. Notwithstanding all oppositions, in *Novem. 1641*, the two *Portugal* Ambassadors being met by divers Cardinals, Princes and Cavaliers well armed, entred into *Rome*, and were conducted to the palace of the *French* Ambassador, who with much courtesie received them at his gate, always giving them the precedence.

Hereupon the *Spanish* Ambassadors, the *Marquess de los Velos*, & *D. John Chiumazero*, scattered abroad their *Manifestos*, wherein they labored to prove that his Holiness ought not to receive the Ambassadors of the Duke of *Braganza* (as they stiled him) First, because he was a tyrant and usurper of a kingdom that had been in the quiet possession of the Catholick kings the space of sixty years: Secondly, because the Duke was a Rebell, and a perjured person, having before sworn allegiance to the Catholick King: Thirdly, that

that the reception of these Ambassadors would be very much prejudiciall to the Catholick King, by giving encouragement to others to attempt the like Rebel-
 lions, &c.

The Ambassadors in the mean time lost no time in endeavouring by themselves, and by the *French* Ambassadour (who had expresse order for the same from his master) to incline his Holiness to admit their Ambassage; but his Holiness, who had ever shewed himself very timorous to give any disgust to the *Spaniard*, lest they should take occasion to do his Holiness a displeasure, or revenge themselves hereafter upon his Nephews, resolved to refuse the Ambassage, pretending certain violations of the Church Rites in *Portugal*, and that he was much unsatisfied in their King, for his detaining in prison the Archbishop of *Praga*, and other Ecclesiasticall persons, although his Majesty had most just cause to doe, as shall hereafter appeare. Soon as the *Spaniards* understood this resolution of his Holiness, (whilst the *Portu-*

gals were labouring to prove their cause by Declarations, Allegations, and Arguments, as well Political as Legal) they resolved to make a quick dispatch of the business, and for that purpose had drawn together above two hundred *Banditi* with intent to seize upon the Bishop of *Lamego*, and carry him away to *Naples*, as they had done the Prince of *Sans*, who was there put to death: but the *Marques de los Veles* was understood by some of his servants, that it would be better taken to give the *Portugal* Ambassadors some high affront upon some encounter in the streets which being communicated to the rest of the Nation, (whereof there are always many in *Rome*) some to obtain dispensations of marriage, others to get spiritual livings) they flocked to the *Spanish* Ambassadors Palace well provided of Arms and (that they might not be looked on as Souldiers) went under the name of Footmen to the *Marques*, whereof the *Portugal* taking speciall notice, made it known to the *Marques* that these proceedings in a peaceable Citie, were much distasted; and

at the same time sent a Messenger to assure
 the Bishop of *Lamego* that he should not
 fear any thing, for that upon the word of
 his Holiness, he should walk the streets un-
 touch't : yet upon the 20 of *August* 1642,
 the Bishop going to visit the *French* Am-
 bassador, was followed by a Spy of the
 Marques to see whither he went; which
 being observed by some of the Bishops
 retinue, they sent a counter-spy to see
 what they did at the Marques House;
 and finding there great preparation of
 Coaches and Men, news thereof was
 brought to the *French* Ambassador,
 whereupon the *French*, *Portugals*, and *Ca-*
lonians were soon assembled with their
 Pistols and Firelocks to convoy home the
 Bishop, who by the way after Sun set
 was met by the Marques guarded with
 above sixty Footmen and eight Coaches,
 full of Captains and Officers called hither
 from *Naples*, besides divers others, and
 subjects of that Crown. So soon as they
 spied the Bishops Coach, the *Spaniards*
 cried aloud, *Si fermassero all' Ambasciatore*
di Spagna, that they should stop for the

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Ambassador of *Spain*, whereto the *Portugals* answered, *che si fermassero loro*, that they should stop: whereupon all leaped out of their Coaches with their naked swords, and making a stand, discharged one Gun, which was followed by both sides with a most gallant volley of shot: There were slain on the *Portugal* part, a Knight of *Malta*, and one Lacky that belonged to the *French* Ambassador, together with one *Italian* and a *Portugal* Page, besides divers wounded. On the *Spanish* part there were eight slain in the place, and about 20 wounded, the Marquess leaving his Coach and Horses dead, crept forth not by the Boot, but behind the Coach, between the two wheels, and fled into the next shop without his hat; without any colour in his face, or spirit in his body, and from thence was carried to the Palace of the *Spanish* Cardinal *Alborno*, his Coach standing upon the place till the next day. The Bishop of *Lamego* went back to the house of the *French* Ambassador, and thence to his own House. His Holiness much disquieted at these insolencies,

cies commanded a guard of Souldiers to be presently put upon the house both of the Marquiss and the Bishop, who not long after was by the King of *Portugal* called home, after he had again pressed and urged the Pope (by a large memorial of the reasons whereto he ought to be received) and had been again refused.

About this time was with much artifice contrived and most shamefully effected the imprisonment of that most gallant Prince, the Infante *Edward*, called by the Portugals *Don Duarte* brother to the King now reigning, who for divers years (before his brother had any thoughts of a Crown) had served the Emperor in his Wars with eminent gallantry, and as eminent success. Upon the newes of the revolt of *Portugal*, this Prince was in the Emperors service, being resolved there to continue untill he was betrayed by *Don Francisco de Mello* a *Portugal* then Ambassador in the Emperors Court for the Catholick King, who notwithstanding all his obligations to the house of *Braganza*, yet with intent to build his fortunes upon
their

their ruine, most earnestly sollicites the Emperor to seize upon his person and deliver him up to the King of *Spain*, alleading how much it concerned the Interests of the Catholick King, that the person of *Don Duarte* should be secured, and how much it behoved his Imperial Majesty in this particular, to shew his affection to the Catholick King his brother, and to the whole house of *Austria*, shewing that this Prince was the main prop of the house of *Braganza*, that God had left this only remedy in the hands of the house of *Austria* whereby *Portugal* may be reduced to obedience, that it would be a great error not to make use of this opportunity, that if he should escape out of their hands, he might by his great insight in Warlike affairs assist his brother, and thereby much infest the Catholick King.

The Emperor having heard this discourse of *Mello*, was at first so farr from being perswaded, that he answered him, he abhorred the breach of publick Faith, and the violation of Hospitality, that this would be against the Liberties of the Empire,

Empire, and against his own honor to imprison a Prince for no fault; but on the contrary, that had deserved so well of the Empire, and to whom his Majesty confessed himself very much obliged.

The Arch-Duke *Leopold*, brother to the Emperor, did so farre detest the motion, that he said he washt his hands of so foule and shamefull an act, yet *Mello* not at all discouraged pursues his design, corrupting with sums of money the Count of *Tratmansdorff*, and some other pensioners to the Crown of *Spain*; but they at length ashamed of the imployment, *Mello* resolves upon a more subtil invention, which was to perswade the Emperor to hearken to one Father *Diego de Quiroga*, who of a Souldier turned Monk, and was now Confessor to the Empress; this Father being wont to give his opinion of such actions as these according to the rules of Interest of State, would perswade the Emperor not only that with good conscience he might secure the person of *Don Duarte*, but that for divins reasons of State he ought to do it: His Imperial

Imperial Majesty at first very unsatisfied in the business, was resolved not to do it, but by the importunity of *Mello* and the ghostly persuasions of *Quiroga*, he was at length induced to alter his resolution, and to give order to *D. Lewes Gonzaga* that he should go to *Leipen* the Princes quarters, and to summon him to *Ratisbon*: in the mean time to prevent the ill impression that this would cause in the minds of all men of honor and honesty; it was reported abroad that *D. Duarte* was fled for some misdemeanor, and thereupon proposal was made of sixteen thousand crowns to any man that could bring him alive or dead; of which the Prince being ignorant escaped very narrowly the hands of some of those people that went searching for him in hopes of the proposed reward; when he was com to *Ratisbon* he was cast into a vile prison appointed only for persons of mean quality, and all his Servants imprisoned, *D. de Francisco de Mello* not content herewith, now sollicitates the Emperor afresh that he may be delivered into the Spaniards hands, and sent prisoner

prisoner to *Milain*, whereto his Majesty would not hearken, but on the contrary sent a message to *D. Duarte*, promising upon his word not to deliver him into the hands of the *Spaniard*, but to procure speedily his liberty. But his ill usage increasing, *D. Duarte* made all the means possible to get audience of the Emperor, which would never be granted, nor was it any wonder, for *there is no face more ugly or more terrible to the offender then the face offended*; hereupon the Infante made his protestation, calling God and man to witness the wrong and injurie done unto him by the Emperor, to whom he was neither subject by any obligation or birth, that when his brother was made King of *Portugal* he was in the Emperors service, wholly ignorant of any designe of his brothers, that if the King of *Spain* was offended, he might revenge himself upon the person offending that that business no way concerned the Emperor: All which particulars were acknowledged by his Imperial Majesty, by a messenger sent to *Don Duarte* in prison, assuring him again
that

that he should not be delivered into the hands of his enemies, yet that his liberty could not be granted for some reasons of State, whereupon D. *Francisco de Sosa Coutigno* Ambassador extraordinary from *Portugal* to *Swethland* in the name of the King his Master, represented at large to the Diet at *Ratisbon* the whole proceeding, requiring justice and liberty for the Infante; But *nothing can prevail against Interest*, the effects of all Manifesto's, Petitions and Intercessions were that the Infante was removed from place to place, and sent farther off where he had still harder usage, only the Emperor seemed yet immutable in his resolution not to deliver him into the hands of the Spaniard untill the most powerfull means in this world to conquer all difficulties was used, which is money; for upon promise of forty thousand crowns the Emperor (contrary to the immunities of the Empire, to the rules of hospitality, to the priviledge of free Princes, to the Law of Nations, and contrary to his word and promise so often reiterated) yeilded that the most innocent

nocent Prince should be sent whether the Catholick King should think meet : so he was hurried away towards the State of *Milain* to remain prisoner in that Castle; by the way as he entred into the Spanish Territories he was received by the Count *de Siruela* the Governor of that state, wherethe Commissary of the Emperor took his leav to return, to whom *D. Duarte* said openly, *Tell thy Master that I am more sorry that I have served so unworthy a Prince, then to see my self a prisoner sold into the hands of my enemies, but that the just Judg of the World will one day suffer the like dealing towards his children, who are no more privildged for being of the house of Austria, then my self that am of the blood royal of Portugal, and that posterity will judg of him and of me.*

The Emperor in his instructions to those that convoyed the Infante, gave express order that in case their prisoner made any attempt to escape, they should kill him upon the place. Being arrived at *Milain*, he was clapt up in the prison where all the Rogues and *Banditi* are wont

to be kept, with a guard in the same chamber so rude that he could hardly take any sleep.

Any man of honor would have been pierced to the very soul with this harsh treaty, how much more a Prince of so high blood, who knew himself descended from so many glorious Kings, and allyed to the greatest Princes of *Europe*, for which cause the Kings ever treated the house of *Braganza* much different from the *Grandees of Spain*, giving them the respect due to sovereign Princes, in so much that *Philip* the second who desired to abase that Family, always received the Duke of *Braganza* under the same cloth of State within the Royal Curtain in all publick Assemblies, allowing him always a chair with a cushion, and as oft as he went to visit his Majesty, he would go to receive the Duke as farr as the middle of the chamber: Besides, the Princes of this Family had always a guard of their own to wait upon them even in the Kings Court.

This then was the reward of that unfortunate

fortunate prince, for having left his Countrey, Kindred, Friends, Interest, for having served the Emperour eight yeares at his own proper charges, for having ventured his life upon all occasions with the formost, expecting no other pay then thanks, and no other recompence then honor.

Yet there wanted not some to defend the Emperour in this action, alledging that it was no new thing, for that *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy* had in the same manner delivered up the Count *de St. Paul* to the King of *France*, who put him to death; whereunto it was answered, That all the misfortune of that Prince is by *Philip de Comines*, and others, attributed to that foul fact, *Ex isto tempore, saith one, nihil Carolo prospere successit, sed calamitati accessit calamitas, donec victus ab Helvetiis ad Nanecium miserrime trucidatus est.*

When D. *John* the present King of *Portugal*, had been fully informed how his brother was treated, he was resolved to revenge himselfe by Arms; but the *Castilians* beginning to make incursions upon
all

all the borders of *Perougal*, diverting his thoughts, made him look neerer home to put the kingdome into a posture of Defence, to fortifie his chiefe Townes, and to train up all the people to the use of Arms.

The *Castilians* in the inroads that they made into *Portugal* laid all waste before them, spared neither sex nor age upon the taking of any place, which so intraged the *Portugals*, that to revenge themselves, they did the like in an incurſion into *Gallitia*.

During these extremities of Barbarisme upon the confines of the kingdome, there was wonderful tranquillity and unanimity at home; onely some few thought themselves so farre obliged to the Catholick King, as to re-establiſh him in his Throne, amongst whom D. *Sebastian de Matos* Archbishop of *Braga*, a creature of the *Count de Olivarez* was the principal, who at the beginning of the revolt opposed himself so much, that divers Gentlemen were once resolved to send him after *Vazconzellos*. This Prelat having imparted his

his design to *D. Lewis de Meneses* Mar-
 quess *de Villa Real*, an ambitious man, and
 to his sonne the Duke *de Camigna*, both
 discontented becaus they thought themselvs
 not preferred according to their merits,
 perswaded them that it was a most un-
 worthy thing to suffer themselves to be
 subject to a fellow-subject, but rather re-
 turn to the obedience and loyalty of their
 ancient Sovereign, who is able to bestow
 upon a deserving man more in one day,
 then the Duke of *Braganza* in an hundred
 years, &c. Insomuch that they were soon
 gained. Next, the Archbishop draws in
D. Augustine Manuele, a man of noble
 blood, excellent parts, necessitous, and ne-
 ver yet employed in any business; all
 notable motives to make a man embrace
 desperate designs. After him was assaul-
 ted *Pietro de Baeza*, an upstart Christian
 (as they call those Christians whose ances-
 tors were once Jewes :) this Gentleman
 famous for his vast riches and his great
 intimacy with that eminent Favourite, the
 Count *Olivarez*, was wont to say, That
Olivarez favour would one day advance

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him

him either to high honor or else to a high gallows; which proved precisely true, as will appear anon.

These, with some few other Conspirators, oft assembled themselves privately to consider how their designs might be speedily put in execution; for which purpose some were of opinion, that many more were to be drawn into the plot: But then it was feared on the one side, that thereby the design might be discovered; on the other side that there was a necessity thereof, for that without communicating to others, the business rested lonely in the *Idaa*. Others advised that the assistance of the King of *Spain* was to be got in readiness; but that then the King of *Portugal* would make as great preparations, and so render that way difficult; yet some replied, that thereby the Spaniard by way of intelligence might be the more easily let in, but that seemed as difficult, because the whole *Militia* was in the hands of persons most trusty to the King. Another time they had thoughts of taking the King out of the way by some sudden violent

lent death, which by some more moderate was opposed, and that rather some way was to be invented to cause his Majesty to renounce his title to the Crown, and to retire himself out of the danger represented unto him. In this wavering condition most of them inclined to a mediocrity, although the same in all eminent attempts is the very stepmother of good success. Moderate resolutions are the most of all pernitions where a designe is to begin with execution: Yet some more valorous and less wary then the rest, were of opinion that they should presently set upon the work, and leave the successe to the disposition of Fortune, insomuch that of many Irons that were in the fire, none was yet hot.

Amongst the conspirators, divers of them (notwithstanding his Majesties express prohibition) kept secret correspondence with the Court at *Madrid* by the means of divers persons much suspected. The King of *Portugal* (who had alwayes an eye upon the Archbishop of *Braga*, and the Marquess *de Villa Real*, knowing their

disaffection from the beginning) at length intercepts some of their Letters; wherein was discovered the names of the conspirators, and the whole treaty; wherefore his Majesty desiring to secure all their persons at once, without any noyse, gave order that by sound of Trumpet and Drum (as the custome is) it should be proclaimed, That his Majesty intended to goe abroad forth of the Citie; whereupon all the Nobility (out of their great affection to his Majesty) were soon assembled to wait upon him. When the King saw them all ready, he commanded first to call a Councell of State, where some of the conspirators assisted; being there sate, he caused them all to be arrested one by one without the least disturbance, which certainly could otherwise have been hardly prevented; for if the conspiracy had been known before the persons were in custody, there would not have been so much danger of their escape, as to have been immediately (without expecting the course of justice torn in pieces by the people. Besides, the wisdom of his Majesty would, that

that by the usual forms of Justice their crime might be as manifest to the world as their punishment.

So so on as these were safe in prison, his Majesty proclaimed a pardon to all complices of this conspiracy that should come in within four days and confess their fault, but the diligence of the King had been so exquisite, that there was not one man left to take the benefit of that grace.

Not many days after, they were all solemnly arraigned, found guilty of high Treason, condemned and executed in manner following.

Upon the last of *August 1641.* the Marquis *de Villa real*, the Duke *de Camigna* his son, the Count *de Armamac* and *D. Augustin Manuele* were led along a Gallery made of purpose to the Scaffold, whereupon were built two stories one above another, upon the uppermost there were placed two chairs, upon the second story one chair, and upon the Skaffold it self another.

First was led forth the Marquis in a

long black baies cloak, and his servants in mourning, who after he had prayed for a good space upon his knees, rose up, and having made a long speech, demanded if there were no hopes of pardon; upon which all the people cryed out, *let him die, let him die for a Traytor*, then the Executioner according to the manner, with a loud voice proclaimed, *This is the Justice that the King our Sovereign Lord commands to be executed upon the person of Don Lewes de Meneses sometime Marquis of Villa Real, that his throat be cut as a Traytor to his Majesty, Nobility, and people of this Kingdom, that for his crime his goods be confiscated, and his memory banished out of the world.* Whereat all the people cryed *Justice*; which the Marquis hearing, with much gravity demanded pardon of all the spectators, desiring them to assist him with their prayers to God for a pardon of this and all his other sins, then turning to a father Jesuit his Confessor, prayed him that in his behalf he would present himself at his Majesties feet, and beseech him out of his goodness that he would

would vouchsafe to forgive him this heinous offence committed against him and the whole Kingdom : after which, sitting down in the chair, his arms and legs were tied to the arms and legs of the chair, then leaning his head over the back of the chair, the Executioner with a knife cut his throat, after covering him with a black silk.

In the same manner upon the same Skaffold appeared his son the Duke of *Camigna*, attended with all his servants in mourning : passing by his fathers corps, he kneeled down and several times kissed his feet, begging of the people the suffrage of one Pater noster for his fathers soul; then sitting down in the other chair after the proclamation of the Executioner, received the same punishment. The Judges would have had both their necks to be cut behind, but his Majesty would not give way thereunto, being a punishment too ignominious in *Portugal* for persons of their quality.

After these appeared the Count of *Ar-mamac* attended with one only servant,
who

who in the chair placed in the lower story received the same punishment: as also *D. Augustin Manuele* upon the skaffold below.

The same day *Pietro de Baeza*, and one *Melchior Correa de Franca* being drawn at an horse tail to the place of execution, were hanged upon a gallows extraordinary high.

Upon a lower gallows in the same place were hanged *Diego de Brito Nabo*, and *Antonio Valente*: the quarters of these four last mentioned were hung up at the gates of the City, and their heads set up near the frontiers of the Kingdom.

In September following, for the same crime, were likewise executed, *Antonio Cogamigno*, and *Antonio Correa*, the later of which, all the time of his imprisonment was an example of penitence, feeding only upon bread and water, and whipping himself every day, with continual prayers to God for pardon of that and his other sins.

The Archbishop of *Braga*, the Bishop of *Martiria*, and the Bishop of *Malacca*,
and

and Fryer *Emanuel de Macedo* (although they were complices in the same conspiracy, yet because they were Ecclesiastical persons) were not put to death as they deserved, but reserved in prison untill the Popes pleasure were known concerning them.

The Archbishop during his imprisonment, did oft acknowledg his offence by Letters to his Majesty, desiring that himself might suffer, so that the others might be spared, in regard that what they had done was rather in obedience to him, then ill will to his Majesty. Upon his death-bed in prison (which happened about three years after the fact committed) he gave order that so soon as he was dead, his last Will and Testament should be carried to the King, wherein he besought his Majesty that he would vouchsafe of his goodness to pardon him the Treason committed by him against his Majesty and his native Country, and that he would let his body be buried without the Church of any parish of *Lisbon*, without any inscription or tombe-stone, that so there might

might remain no memory of a man that had been a Traytor to his King and to his Country. A good example of Christian humility, and of admonition to others not to meddle with the like affairs; for attempts of this nature are like hot irons, which instead of heating, scorch the hands of those that handle them. This so exemplary punishment and rigorous justice inflicted upon the forenamed delinquents, did not ~~only~~ establish the Kingdom, and secure the Family and Person of the King, but also strook a terror into all the Kings Enemies (if there were any left) and excited the Kings friends to love him and watch over him the more diligently.

The mutual incursions upon the frontiers between the *Castillians* and *Portugals* still continued with great animosity and violence.

About this time (although there was a truce concluded, between *Portugal* and *Holland* as afore expressed, and a great Navy sent from *Holland* to assist the *Portugal* against the *Spaniard*) yet there passed

sed high acts of hostility between the two Nations in *Africa* and *America* beyond the Line; for the *Hollanders* seeing the disunion of *Portugal* from *Castile*, made all possible haste to finish the conquest of those parts before a perfect peace should be concluded with *Portugal*, that so in the Treaty they might pretend reason that all things should continue in the state they were then found: to this end during all quiet and peaceable commerce between the two Nations in the Kingdom of *Angola*, the *Hollander* surpris'd the *Portugals* that were Governors of the place, killing divers and robbing all of the great wealth there found, of which perfidiousness, and of the barbarous usage towards the prisoners there taken, complaint was made to the States at the *Hague*, but without any satisfaction.

In the mean time the Catholick King was very solicitous for the recovery of *Portugal*; for the effecting whereof, he did not consult only with his greatest Statists at home, but also with those abroad, from
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one of whom he received this ensuing Letter

By the Letter which your Majesty was pleased to write unto me on the 6 of March past, I am commanded to deliver my advice touching the best expedient for the recovery of Portugal. Sir, the Clemency used by King Philip the second, your Majesties Grandfa her towards the Kingdom of Portugal, was a fatal presage of the present calamities, and future destruction not only of Spain, but the whole Spanish Monarchy, because that Kingdom was only in name, but never really Conquered, remaining rich and abundant with the same, if not greater priviledges then before. The Grandees and Nobles at home, the people not at all crushed, and (which is more then all) the Government in the hands of natives, and all his Majesties other Subjects excluded from all places of power, honor or profit. Sir, the holy Scripture which is the mirror and rule of our actions, teacheth that when Salmanasar conquered the Kingdom of Israel, he did carry away not only the Royal Family,
but

but transported all the Nobility and People into divers Provinces of his own kingdoms, and into the new Conquests sent new inhabitants; yet the Israelites were never such inveterate enemies to the Assyrians, as the Portugals with Divellish madnesse have shewed themselves against the interest and conveniences of this Monarchy.

Moreover, in the same Scripture it is read, That Nebuchadonosor having conquered Jerusalem, transplanted all that he found in that kingdom, leaving onely a few miserable inconsiderable people to remain there.

So Athalia Queen of Judah, saw no other way to preserve a kingdom newly conquered, but by extinguishing all the generation upon whom the Jews could cast their eyes in hopes of revolt.

And Jehu King elected by God, extinguisht all the family of Ahab, together with all his dependents, friends, and acquaintance, not sparing so much as the Priests.

These, Sir, are the Rules that the holy Scripture teacheth to be practised upon the Families and People that abhor the dominion
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of their own Sovereignes.

It was, Sir, very fatall to stand expecting and hoping for better times and opportunities for the securing of Portugal.

In the year 1638. observing the ill affection of that Nation, my advice was, that without any delay that kingdome was to be secured by force of Armes: others were of the same judgement, but Fate would have it that (for fear of new troubles) by delays way should be made for a Rebellion, then which there could not have been a greater, although that form of Government which was expedient for the Spanish Monarchy, and was alwayes held necessary for preserving that Crown, had been put in execution with the greatest violence imaginable.

But when a Jewel is gone, the main inquiry should be by what means it may be found again, not how it came to be lost.

The first means then of recovering that Crown, may be (what your Majesties Grandfather made use of) to buy your rights of your own subjects by Gifts and Promises, wherein your Majesty is to be as prodigall as the Portugals are insolent in expecting and demanding

ding ; and indeed experience teacheth, that that Nation is so addicted to their own interest, that more may be effected this way then by a powerfull Army ; to him will they be subject who wil give most , or from whom most can be expected ; herein prodigality wil be good husbandry : For when Portugal shal be returned to the obedience of your Majesty, all that wealth which hath been bestowed amongst them, wil return likewise.

The second means is by force of Armes ; but this wil be difficult at present by reason of the severall engagements of this Monarchy elsewhere. I suppose, Sir, that in case Portugal should be conquered by force, all their conquests in the Indies, &c. wil remain in their hands ; for thither wil they all fly, and from thence they wil be alwayes ready to assist our enemies : wherefore it would be very expedient for your Majesties service, that a Truce were first made with the Hollanders upon condition that they make warre upon the Portugal in the Indies, and have what ever they can conquer : Whence will arise this commodity, that they will want the wealth of their conquests ; your Majesty being dis-

disengaged with the Hollander) wil the sooner conquer them at home, and the Hollander wil onely come to receive to day at the hand of your Majesty, what to morrow the Portugal must deliver up unto them. At the same time the Hollanders and Flemings may scour the Coasts of Portugal, and the English be invited to a more frequent navigation into the East Indies and China, whereby the Portugal Trade there may easily be ruined.

The third way is, That the Pope be perswaded to thunder his Excommunications against the House of Braganza, and against the whole Kingdom as perjured, and perturbators of the publick peace, animating all Christian Princes to assist in the regaining that kingdom, upon pretence of advancing the Catholick Faith.

Moreover, diffidencies and jealousies between the Duke of Braganza and the people, may easily be fomented by the means of Merchants, strangers, and by Flemings and Burgundians, under the name of French. And to effect these diffidencies the better, a Treachery may really be begun with the Duke, which
being

being discovered by the people (though it be before the Duke could know thereof) they will destroy him and all his Family; and in such case the civill dissentions will open a way for your Majesty to recover your right: Desperate evils must have Desperate remedies, the kingdome of Portugal is the canker of the Spanish Monarchy: therefore,

Ense recidendum est ne pars syncera
trahatur.

Let not your Majesty defer the right remedy: the greatest rigor is here the greatest charity, and to have no charity is to have much prudency: to bury this Hydra in its own ashes, will be triumph enogh: to live without this arm is better then to have it employed against its own head: Let your Majesty never believe or hope better of that nation, then you have seen these 60 years past; never think to keep that Countrey if not planted with other people, the detestation against your Majesties government is hereditary.

The interest of the King, Sir, is very ample, and hath no bounds against Rebels, every action is just and honourable

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that tends to the recovery of the Kings
right.

Moreover, a Truce is to be made with the
Catalonians, whereby they being freed from
the tumultuous courses of warre, will have
time to take notice of the French insolencies,
and growing weary of that yoke, wil at length
easily embrace the next opportunity to return
to their obedience; which once effected, will
make the whole people of Portugall waver
between hopes and fears, and beget variety
of opinions amongst them, which for the
conquering of kingdoms (the Emperour Ju-
lian was wont to say) is much more advanta-
geous then the power of an Army, as the
Grandfather of your Majesty found in the
succesſion of Portugal. To this may be ad-
ded, that it will be very expedient, that your
Majesty name Bishops to dispose of all Go-
vernments and Offices of that Crown to the
the most confiding persons in that kingdom;
for this will beget distrust amongst them all,
and the ignorant people not knowing whom
to trust, will put all into confusion, whereby
your Majesties service will be more easily ad-
vanced.

Thus

Thus in obedience to your Majesties Com-
mands, I have imparted my weak advice
wherin if I have erred, your Majesties good-
ness will attribute it to my want of abilities,
or of affection. God preserve the Catholick
and Royall person of your Majesty, as the
Christian world, and we your Majesties sub-
jects have need.

But to return to the affairs of Portugal,
which were at this time a little discompo-
sed by the generall discontent and distast
taken at the Secretary of State, *Don Fran-
cisco de Lucena*, who having lived long in
the Court of Spain, was at length by *Oli-
varex* means made Under-Secretary to
Vazconcellos, and for his readiness to
proclaim King *Fohn*, and his abilities in
that place, his Majesty continued him
there, relying upon him with so great affe-
ction and confidence, that although some
had advertised his Majesty that he held
correspondence with the Court at *Madrid*,
yet he would not suspect his integrity, un-
till the whole three Estates being again
assembled upon urgent occasions, openly
refused

iused all Acts that should passe the hands
 of Secretary *Lucena*, and gave his Majesty
 to understand, That untill *Lucena* were
 brought to triall, there should be no
 further proceeding in the Assembly of
 Estates: whereat his Majesty was much
 moved: yet out of his prudency resol-
 ved to give satisfaction to his subjects by
 delivering his Secretary up to justice; but
 that he might have a fair proceeding, the
 King sate in person during the examinati-
 on of witnesses: in the mean time by the
 Post came secret information to his Maje-
 sty, whereupon were imprisoned the bro-
 ther and three servants of the Secretary,
 together with an English Monk, and a
 Cavalier of the habit. Not long after
Lucena was arraigned and found guilty of
 betraying his trust, intelligence with the
 enemy, negligence of timely advertising
 the *Infante Don Duarte* to retire out of
 Germany, &c. for which he was con-
 demned and executed in a publick place in
Lixbon, where he protested to the very last
 his innocency touching any treachery to-
 wards his Majesty.

With

With the death of the Secretary the three Estates were satisfied, and according to his Majesties command had assembled themselves *Septem. 18. 1643.* taking their places in their wonted manner, the Dukes upon velvet Chairs without Armes, the Marquesses upon Forms covered with red Cloth, the Earls upon Forms covered with ordinary Cloth, the Prelats apart upon Forms covered with velvet, and all the Deputies of Cities and Towns upon plain forms, in order on both sides; with a passage in the middle. Being all sate, *Dⁿ Emanuel d Acugna*, Dean of his Majesties Chappell, rose up, and after reverence made to the King placed upon his Throne, delivered an elegant speech, the sum whereof was,

That in the space of 60 years that the Kingdom was under the power of the Kings of Castile, there had been but two Assemblies of Estates, the first to enslave them, the next to abuse them. But since they were under the obedience of the present King (whom God preserve) within the space of two years, they have had two Assemblies, the former to settle

their liberties, the present to beget a right understanding between the King and his people, wherein they had all freedom to demand what ever was necessary, that the world might see that they are now no longer slaves but children, no longer strangers but natives, and that they are under rather a loving father, then a severe sovereign.

In the former Assembly (said he) his Majesty took all the Customs, and left the defence of the kingdom to your bands, you ordered what seemed good unto your selves, you made choyce of a general assistance by way of contribution; but in the levying thereof the first payment was found uneffectuall, the second unequal, the third unsufficient, whence arose some complaints, some imagining that the fault proceeded from the unequal division of the contribution; others from the change of value in money and commodities; and others from the disorderly gathering and disbursing the whole. I may easily say, if there were any error committed, yet it might be excusable for that, Never had any weighty affair its conception and perfection at once; Then shall errors cease to be in

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Government when men shall cease to be in the world. These things are to be endured with the same patience that Drowths, Dearths, Inundations, and such other disorders in Nature; for the wit of man cannot hold forth a remedy for all diseases; But certainly there will be no ground of reprehension (though much of admiration, to him that shall consider how his Majesty entred upon a Kingdom exhausted by the Castilians of money and other necessities for offence or defence, and yet how in lesse then one year and a halfe we should want neither shipping nor Artillery, nor Horse nor Arms, nor Fortifications nor Armies upon the Frontiers. Three powerfull Fleets put to Sea, divers honorable and extraordinary Ambassages, besides many other secret (yet necessary) expenses, all which will astonish any understanding man. Now to the end that the people may have full satisfaction, his Majesty commadded that (before farther proceeding) it be made appear particularly how all the money received hath been laid out, and then it is expected, and the present state of affairs requireth, that we all contribute liberally,

considering that these charges are but for a time, but our liberties are for ever, that we shall never have a better opportunity to destroy our enemy, that Nature teacheth to hazard an arm to save the whole body; the Merchants at sea cast away one part of their goods sometimes to save the rest; we are now on shipboard in a storm, our goods, our lives, our liberties, our honour, our Countrey, are all in danger.

Moreover, the barbarous usage of the King of Castile towards the Infante Don Duarte, calls upon this Assembly for revenge, that we spend not onely our mony, but our blood in affection to him, and that we make our enemies spend theirs in satisfaction for him, &c.

The three Estates encouraged by this Harange, took a good order for the redressing of all grievances, and advancing his Majesties service, that soon after an Army of twenty thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse were upon their march with the King in the head thereof, resolved to make the feat of war in Castile, which was performed with much gallantry, and

as much success. In the mean time news was brought to his Majesty of the birth of his second sonne, but first child after he came to the Crown, for which cause he was baptized with as great pomp as could be devised, and was named *Alfonso*.

About the same time there arrived from the Indies some rich Galeons, that brought news with what generall applause and excessse of joy his Majesty was proclaimed throughout all those Countries.

But because all men understand not how considerable the severall dominions belonging to the Crown of *Portugal*, and now in the possession of King *John* are, I thought fit here to make a brief narration thereof.

The Crown of *Portugal* at this day enjoys considerable estates in the *East Indies*, that they may be called a mighty Empire; for, to say nothing of *Madera*, *Tercera*, and *St Michael* Islands, so long time possessed by the *Portugal* nation, they have made themselves masters of many strong places in *Africa*, as in *Guinea*, in the kingdom of *Congo* and *Angola*, the great Island of *St. Lawrence*,

rence, of Soffala, and Mozambique on the
Continent, thence passing the mouth of
the red Sea, they have settled a Trade with
Socatra and Calaiate; thence passing the
Bay of Persia, and the mouth of the great
river Indus, which gave occasion of the
name to those countries, they subdued Ca-
lecute, Cochim, &c. the Island of Goa, Ciaul,
Daman, &c. thence towards the river Gan-
ges, they conquered Ceilam, Malacca, Su-
matra, Solor, Larantuca, &c. thence farther
forward they entred into the kingdome of
Pegu, into Java major and minor, into the
kingdome of China, where they held a
strong place called Macao. In summe, the
Kingdoms, Provinces, Islands Cities that
the Nation of Portugal hath conquered a-
broad, may be compared to the ancient
Roman Empire; nor hath their valour
been much inferior to that of the Romans
if we consider the warre they have made
with the King of Cambata, who for puis-
sance, riches, and military courage surpas-
passed Xerxes, Darius, or Pyrrhus; the
warre they have made with Isamalucco &
Idalcam in the kingdom of Decam, both
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equall to mighty Kings, whose Armies consisted of Persians, Turkes, Janizaries, Arabs, Moors, and the best warriors of all the East: the warre they have waged with the Moores of *Malacca*, *Sumatra* and *Molucco*, who were as well provided of Artillery, as any of the Princes of Europe; also with the Kings of *Bengala*, *Peng*, *Siam*, & many other formidable powers. It is true, that during the time that Portugal was under the Catholick Kings, many places were lost, yet there remains to this day under the command of K. *John* the fourth, above fifty Towns and Ports accounted impregnable, as *Mozambique*, *Cuama*, *Monomotapa*, *Mombaza*, *Mascare*, *Dia Damam*, *Bazain*, *Chiaul*, *Onor*, *Barcelor*, *Mangalor*, *Gananor*, *Cranganor*, *Cochim*, *Coulam*, *Negapatan*, *Meliapor*, the Isle of *Ceilam*, the kingdome of *Fasanapatan*, the Cities of *Manac* and *Nombre de Jesu*; then more Northward, *Azarim*, *Danu*, *Agazim*, *Maim*, *Trapor*, and many other places: in all which are maintained Governors and Souldiers, besides in the head Citie *Goa*, there is a Viceroy with all Courts of Justice,

stice, whither many Kings of the *East* send Tribute and Ambassadors to maintain amity with the King of Portugall, in so much that the Portugall Trade extends it selfe into the *East* neer four thousand leagues, by which are maintained all the Garrisons, all the ships (whereof there are oftentimes two or three Fleets) and much wealth sent home every yeare. Upon the coast of Africa the Crown of Portugall yet possesseth divers places so well fortified, that the neighbouring Moores could never yet recover them.

In *America*, the famous country of *Brasile* belongs to the King of Portugall, one thousand four hundred leagues on the coast thereof containing 14. governments whereof the head City is Saint *Salvador*.

But to return to the Frontiers of *Portugal*, where we left the Portugals and Castillians making inrodes, wasting the Country, surprising the Towns, oft skirmishing, but never yet in any set Battel, untill the year, 1644. where both Armies met upon the borders of Portugall, in a plain called

called *Campo-Mayor*. The Spanish Army consisting for the most part of strangers, was under the conduct of the Marquess *de Torrecusa*, and the Portugal Army, consisting of Natives, with some few Hollanders, were under the command of *Matthias de Albuquerque*: The batail was fought with as much order as courage on both sides, but the Spaniard being more numerous, especially in Horse, after severall furious charges put the whole Army of Portugal into disorder, seised upon all their Artillery and Baggage, killed *Albuquerque's* horse under him, and took many prisoners; yet after all, the Generall being mounted upon another horse, rallied some of his best Souldiers, and charging afresh, recovered all, put to flight the whole Army of their Enemies, and chased them above 3 miles. Of the Spanish Army there were slain 1600 men upon the place; amongst whom was the Lieutenant General, the General of the horse, and the General of the Artillery, 5 Campmasters, 2 Adjutants of horse, 3 Sergeant-Majors, 23 Cornets, the Count *de Montixo*, together

ther with very many Cavaliers of the Orders of *Saint James*, *Calatrava*, and *Alcantara*; there were taken 4000 Armes, and above 1000 Horse. Of the Portugal Army were slain not above 300. amongst whom 2 Campmasters, and one Sergeant Major, one Captain of horse, and eight of Foot; but there were taken prisoners divers Noblemen, Commanders, and Officers; which were hurried away by the Castilians in their flight.

Not long after was imprisoned in *Lisbon*, the Marquess *de Montalban*, *D. George Mascarenas*, Lord Treasurer, President of the Councill of the Indies, and a Councillor of State; together with some others, upon suspicion of a conspiracy against his Majesty; but upon Examination it being discovered that the suspicion was cunningly raised by the *Castilians*, with intent to deprive his Majesty of the service of his most able Ministers, and to make the World believe that the *Portugall* Nobility were discontented with their King, they were set at liberty, and their honors repaired by his Majesties Proclamation.

In this condition stood the King and Kingdom of *Portugall* in the year, 1644. and in this condition it may probably continue for many years:

First, because the Catholick King will not probably quit his pretences here, sooner then he hath done in the Netherlands.

Secondly, because the Nation of *Portugall* beareth such extraordinary affection to the whole Family of their present King, and such exceeding hatred to the *Castillians*, that they will choose rather to be extirpated and destroyed, then bee brought again under the yoke of the Catholick King.

Thirdly, because the Catholick King is not able (during the warr with *France*) to gain any thing upon that Kingdom either at home or abroad, as hath bin evident ever since King *John* the Fourth came to that Crown.

Fourthly, because it is so much the interest of *France* to keep the Crown of *Portugall* apart, that the peace with *Spain* will never bee concluded without including *Portugall*.

Lastly,

Lastly, supposing that by all the States
 of Christendom; contrary to their owne
 interest, the Kingdom of *Portugal* should
 be abandoned to the fury of the *Spaniard*,
 and granting that *Philip* the second made
 himself master thereof by force; yet if
 their then impuissance and distractions be
 remembered, and their present power and
 unanimity be consider'd, it must necessa-
 rily be concluded, *That the Re-union of*
Portugal with Castile is morally impossible.

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